野蛮大陆

第二次世界大战后的欧洲

SAVAGE CONTINENT: *Europe in the Aftermath of World War II*

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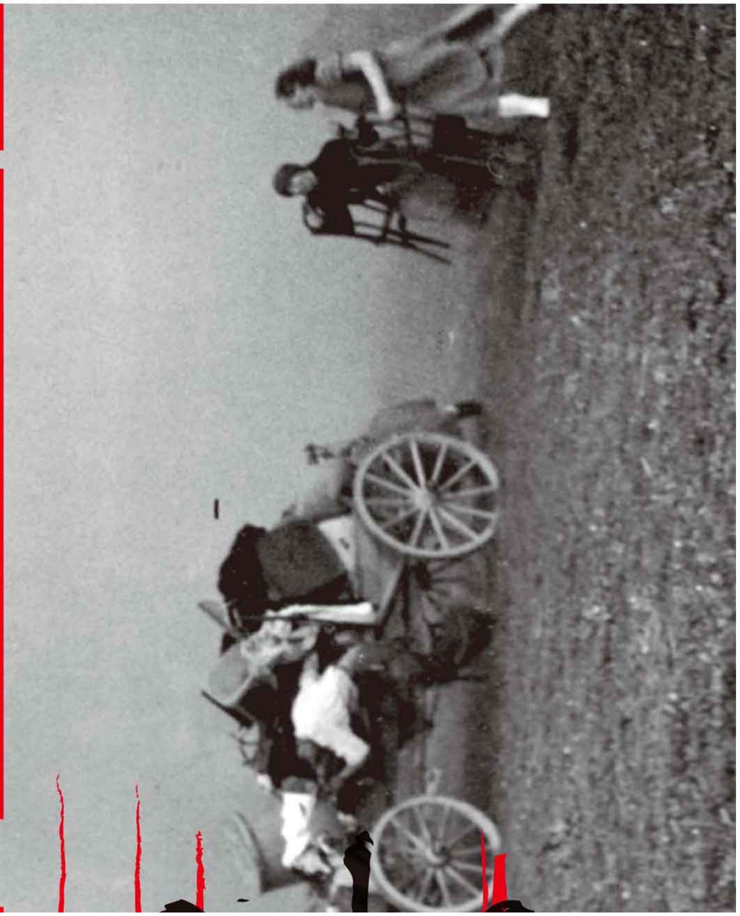
黎英亮 / 译

甲骨文

社会科学文献出版社
SSAP
SOCIAL SCIENCES ACADEMIC PRESS (CHINA)

基思·罗威（**Keith Lowe**），全职作家和历史学家，曾做过十余年的历史类图书出版商。他被公认为二战史权威，经常在英国和美国的电视广播上发表意见。饱受赞誉的历史著作《火焰地狱：1943年汉堡灭顶之灾》（*Inferno: The Devastation of Hamburg, 1943*）即出自他之手。

黎英亮，历史学博士，华南师范大学讲师，著有《现代国际生活的规则：国际法的诞生》《何谓民族？：普法战争与厄内斯特·勒南的民族主义思想》，译有《浩劫之地》（即将出版）。



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ISBN[illegible]9787509772775

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第二次世界大战的结束，见证了欧洲各地暴力行为的恐怖爆发。囚犯杀死狱卒。士兵虐待平民。抵抗战士杀死和侮辱通敌卖国者。战争行动结束后，日复一日、月复一月、年复一年，种族清洗、内战、强奸、谋杀持续上演。探寻那个在彼此复仇中筋疲力尽的欧洲，《野蛮大陆》是一幅令人震惊的图画，刻画了一个迄今未被承认的、无序而恐怖的年代。

“刻骨痛心。动人心弦、落笔审慎、荡气回肠。一幅引人注目的图画，描绘了一片在物质上、道德上因为残忍屠戮而变得残酷无情的欧洲大陆。”

——多米尼克·桑德布鲁克（Dominic Sandbrook），《星期日泰晤士报》

“形象生动而笔调冷峻。这部杰出著作，为这片陷入无序和混乱的大陆，描绘了一幅鲜为人知、令人胆寒的画面。”

——伊恩·克肖（Ian Kershaw）

“不可或缺的作品。以严肃的笔调，叙述我们从未知晓、父辈宁愿忘记的事实。罗威极具穿透力的句子，让我们难以对种种苦难视而不见……看后难以入睡。如此优秀的历史著作，让所有问题萦绕于心。”

——《苏格兰人》

“令人震惊，令人感动，非常好的作品。”

——《新政治家》

“杰出非凡，过目难忘，饱含张力。”

——《每日邮报》

“精彩绝伦。才华横溢的构思，一丝不苟的研究……呈现出天才般的历史叙事。”

——BBC历史频道

1.1945~1947年欧洲各国领土变更
苏联获得
波兰从德国获得
其他变化
北
贝柴摩（佩琴加）
摩尔曼斯克
卡累利阿
北海
波的尼亚湾
芬兰
瑞典
拉多加湖
挪威
赫尔辛基
列宁格勒
奥斯陆
斯德哥尔摩
塔林
爱沙尼亚
波罗的海
里加
拉脱维亚
苏　联
麦麦尔
立陶宛
丹麦
哥本哈根
考纳斯
加里宁格勒
维尔纽斯
明斯克
格但斯克
东普鲁士
波美拉尼亚
沃利尼亚
白俄罗斯
什切青
阿姆斯特丹
波　兰
荷兰
柏林
华沙
西里西亚
基辅
布鲁塞尔
东德
弗罗茨瓦夫
加里西亚
比利时
波恩
卢森堡
克拉科夫
利沃夫
北布科维纳
乌克兰
布拉格
捷克斯洛伐克
西德
法国
比萨拉比亚
敖德萨
维也纳
布拉迪斯拉发
外喀尔巴阡卢西尼亚
布达佩斯
伯尔尼
奥地利
瑞士
匈牙利
罗马尼亚
黑海
的里雅斯特
威尼斯-朱利亚（归南）
布加勒斯特
南多布罗加（归保）
贝尔格莱德
扎拉（归南）
亚得里亚海
南斯拉夫
保加利亚
意大利
索非亚
伊斯坦布尔
0　200英里
0　200千米
罗马
阿尔巴尼亚
地拉那
土耳其

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1944[illegible]1945[illegible][1][illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]3[illegible]
[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][2]

[illegible]1945[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Stunde Null[illegible]Zero Hour[illegible]

[illegible]1943[illegible]1944[illegible]1945[illegible]5[illegible]8[illegible]Tito[illegible]1945[illegible]5[illegible]15[illegible]20[illegible]50[illegible]

[illegible]1989[illegible]2005[illegible]60[illegible]20[illegible]90[illegible]

“”
1945
1947
“”
*

[illegible]·[illegible]Tony Judt[illegible]*Postwar*[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1944[illegible]1949[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]——“[illegible]”[illegible]

[1] Dean Acheson memorandum to Harry Hopkins，26 December 1944，*Foreign Relations of the United States*（*FRUS*），1945，vol.II，pp.1059-61.Pope Pius XII’s address to the Sacred College of Cardinals，*New York Times*，3 June 1945，p.22.

[2] “Europe，The New Dark Continent”，*New York Times* magazine，18 March 1945，p.5.

[illegible]

[illegible]Stettin[illegible]Szczecin[illegible]Wilno[illegible]Vilnius[illegible]Fiume[illegible]Rijeka[illegible]

[illegible]Kharkov[illegible]Dnepropetrovsk[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]1949[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]

基思·罗威

于伦敦

2015年5月

□□□

□□□□

我曾经以为你会在那里等着我……但我回到家乡，只闻到挥之不去的死亡气息，只看到满目疮痍的破败家园。

——塞缪尔·普特曼返回华沙时所写，1945年[1]

我们只见到物质损失，但对经济凋敝以及政治解体、社会解体、心理解体造成的严重后果，我们却视而不见。

——迪恩·艾奇逊，美国副国务卿，1947年[2]

[1] Samuel Puterman□□□Michał Grynberg□ed.□□*Words to Outlive Us*□*Eyewitness Accounts from the Warsaw Ghetto*□London□Granta□2003□□p.440□

[2] Acheson□Dean□*Present at the Creation*□*My Years at the State Department*□New York□Norton□1969□□p.231.

[illegible]

[illegible]

1943[illegible]Karl Baedeker[illegible]Generalgouvernement[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Piłsudski Square[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1939[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [1]

[illegible]SS-Brigadeführer[illegible]·[illegible]Jürgen Stroop[illegible] [2] [illegible]

[illegible]Polish Home Army[illegible]1944[illegible]8[illegible]1.7[illegible] [3] [illegible]1944[illegible]10[illegible] [4]

[illegible]1944[illegible]1944[illegible]10[illegible]1945[illegible]1[illegible]93%[illegible][5]

[illegible]1939[illegible]1943[illegible]1944[illegible][6]

[illegible]·[illegible]John Vachon[illegible]1946[illegible]1[illegible]

这确实是一座不可思议的大城市，我想要描述给你听，但又不知从何说起。这么说吧，这是一座大城市。战前有超过100万人口。大小跟底特律差不多。现在，这里有90%的街区被彻彻底底地摧毁了……无论我走到哪儿，都能看到大片没有屋顶或者没有墙壁的未倒塌房屋，人们就蜷缩在里面。犹太隔离区是个例外，那里就是一块遍布碎砖的大平原，到处散布着歪歪扭扭的床板、浴缸、沙发、相框、树干，数

以百万计的杂物散落在砖块之间。我无法想象，怎样才能造成如此破坏……这种景象如此骇人，我简直不敢相信自己的眼睛。[7]

[illegible]

[illegible][8]

[illegible]

[illegible]5[illegible]20.2[illegible]450[illegible][9][illegible]“coventrieren”[illegible]Coventrate[illegible]1.2[illegible]8[illegible][10]

[illegible]1944[illegible]75%[illegible][11][illegible]77%[illegible]82%[illegible][12][illegible]1.4[illegible][13][illegible]46[illegible]190[illegible][14]

[illegible]84%[illegible]30%[illegible][15][illegible]80%[illegible]332[illegible]19[illegible]

[illegible]19[illegible][16][illegible]1941[illegible]1944[illegible]“[illegible]100%”[illegible][17][illegible]1700[illegible]714[illegible][18]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][19][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible][20] 1945[illegible]9[illegible]·[illegible]George F.Kennan[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible][21]

[illegible]360[illegible]1/5[illegible][22][illegible]18[illegible][23][illegible]50%[illegible]51.6%[illegible]53.3%[illegible]64%[illegible]66%[illegible]70%[illegible][24]

[illegible]·[illegible]Austin Robinson[illegible]

> 那片废墟涵盖所有街区，大片地区只剩下断壁残垣，工厂几乎被夷为平地，这幅图景让我永生难忘。那些仅仅听说过此地的人，是不可能感受到那种感情或人性的强烈冲击的。[25]

[illegible]·[illegible]Philip Dark[illegible]

> 我们向市中心行进，映入眼帘的是一座破败得令人难以想象的城市。我们真的被吓倒了。举目所及，几平方英里内，都是建筑物的空壳，扭曲的横梁直指天际，在一堵尚未倒塌的墙壁上，裸露的钢筋四处伸展，如同被钉死在十字架上的翼龙残骸。在墙壁的轮廓中，隐约可见烟囱的丑陋形状。到处弥漫着死寂的气氛……除非亲眼所见，否则难以想象。[26]

1945[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]70[illegible]”[illegible][27][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][28][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][29][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][30]

[illegible]1800[illegible]2000[illegible][31][illegible]1000[illegible][32][illegible][33][illegible][34][illegible]“[illegible]20[illegible]”[35]

[illegible][36][illegible]50[illegible]21.9[illegible][37][illegible]

[illegible]1/3[illegible][38][illegible]8[illegible]

[illegible]1/3[illegible]1000[illegible][39][illegible]24%[illegible]38%[illegible]60%[illegible][40][illegible]7[illegible][41][illegible]

[illegible]1941[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[42]

[illegible]1941[illegible]12[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][43][illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[44]

[illegible]500[illegible]90%[illegible][45][illegible]3.2[illegible][46][illegible]91.4[illegible]1/3[illegible][47]

[illegible]60%[illegible]1/3[illegible]1.3[illegible]77%[illegible]1/5[illegible]1/3[illegible]1[illegible]85%[illegible]100%[illegible]2/3[illegible]3/4[illegible][48]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][49][illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Primo Levi[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][50][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][51]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[1] Baedeker[illegible]Karl[illegible]*Das Generalgouvernement*[illegible]*Reisehandbuch von Karl Baedeker*[illegible]Leipzig[illegible]Karl Baedeker[illegible]1943[illegible]pp. 85-94.

[2] Davies□Norman□*Rising ’44□The Battle for Warsaw*□London□Pan□2004□□p.556.

[3] Davies□Norman□*Rising ’44□The Battle for Warsaw*□London□Pan□2004□□pp.666-7.

[4] Davies□Norman□*Rising ’44□The Battle for Warsaw*□London□Pan□2004□□p.439.

[5] Ministry of Culture & Art and Ministry of Reconstruction of the Country□*Warsaw Accuses□Guide-book to the exhibition arranged by the Office of Reconstruction of the Capital together with the National Museum in Warsaw*□Warsaw□Muzeum Narodowe□1945□□pp.19-24□and Davies□Norman□*God’s Playground□A History of Poland*□Oxford University Press□2005□□p.355.

[6] Ministry of Culture & Art and Ministry of Reconstruction of the Country□*Warsaw Accuses□Guide-book to the exhibition arranged by the Office of Reconstruction of the Capital together with the National Museum in Warsaw*□Warsaw□Muzeum Narodowe□1945□□pp.19-24.

[7] Vachon□John□*Poland 1946□The Photographs and Letters of John Vachon*□ed. Ann Vachon□Washington□DC□and London□Smithsonian Institute Press□1995□□p.5□letter of 10 January 1946.

[8] Hastings□Max□*Armageddon*□London□Macmillan□2004□.

[9] HM Government□*Statistics Relating to the War Effort of the United Kingdom*□London□HMSO□1944□□p.9□□□□□The National Archives□TNA□□Public Record Office□PRO□CAB 21/2110 and *Daily Express*□29 November 1944□

[10] Ray□John□*The Second World War*□London□Cassell□1999□□pp.95-6.

[11] Hitchcock□William I.□*Liberation□The Bitter Road to Freedom□Europe 1944-1945*□London□Faber & Faber□2009□□p.44.

[12] Florentin□Eddy□*Quand les Alliés bombardaient la France 1940-1945*□Paris□Perrin□1997□□p.430.

[13] Gaillard□Lucien□*Marseilles sous l'Occupation*□Rennes□Ouest-France□1982□□p.113.

[14] Rioux□Jean-Pierre□*The Fourth Republic 1944-1958*□trans. Godfrey Rogers□Cambridge University Press□1987□□p.471.

[15] According to Nagy□Ferenc□*The Struggle behind the Iron Curtain*□trans. Stephen K. Swift□New York□Macmillan□1948□□p.129.

[16] □□Judt□Tony□*Postwar□A History of Europe Since 1945*□London□Pimlico□2007□□p.16□□□Werth□Alexander□*Russia at War*□London□Barrie & Rockliff□1964□□p.864□

[17] Werth□Alexander□*Russia at War*□London□Barrie & Rockliff□1964□□p.709.

[18] □□Kondufor□Yuri□ed.□□*A Short History of the Ukraine*□Kiev□Naukova Dumka□1986□□p.239□□□Krawchenko□Bohdan□'Soviet Ukraine under Nazi Occupation□1941-4'□in Yury Boshyk□ed.□□*Ukraine during World War II*□Edmonton□University of Alberta□1986□□p.15□

[19] Valentin Berezhkov□□□Beevor□Antony□*Stalingrad*□London□Viking□1998□□p.418□

[20] Werth□Alexander□*Russia at War*□London□Barrie & Rockliff□1964□□p.837.

[21] Kennan□George F.□*Memoirs 1925-1950*□Boston and Toronto□Little□Brown□1967□□pp.280-82.

[22] United States Strategic Bombing Survey□USSBS□□*Over-all Report□European War□*□1945□p.72.Tooze□□□□□□380□□□Tooze□Adam□*The Wages of Destruction*□London□Penguin□2007□□p.672□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□337□□□□□Hastings□Max□*Bomber Command*□London□Pan□1999□□p.352□

[23] 20.2□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1.5%□HM Government□*Statistics Relating to the War Effort of the United Kingdom*□London□HMSO□1944□□pp.31-2□□□□TNA□PRO CAB 21/2110□

[24] □□Rumpf□Hans□*The Bombing of Germany*□trans. Edward Fitzgerald□London□White Lion□1975□□pp.128-9.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□33%□□□□60%□□□75%□□□□48%□□□□54%□□□61%□□□Webster and Webster□Sir Charles and Noble Frankland□*The Strategic Air Offensive against Germany 1939-1945*□London□HMSO□1961□□vol.IV□pp.484-6.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□61%□□□Lowe□Keith□*Inferno*□London□Viking□2007□□p.318□

[25] Robinson□diary entry for Monday□28 May 1945.

[26] Philip J.C.Dark□IWM Docs 94/7/1□typescript account□“Look Back This Once□Prisoner of War in Germany in WWII”.

[27] Herbert Conert□□□Taylor□Frederick□*Dresden*□New York□HarperCollins□2004□□p.396.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Kurt Vonnegut□*Slaughterhouse 5*□London□Vintage□1991□□pp.130-31□

[28] Klemperer□Victor□*To the Bitter End□The Diaries of Victor Klemperer 1942-45*□trans. Martin Chalmers□London□W

eidenfeld & Nicolson□1999□□p.596□diary entry for 22 May 1945.

[29] Colonel R.G.Turner□IWM Docs□05/22/1□letter to his mother□11 July 1945.

[30] Janet Flaner□□□Sebald□W.G.□*On the Natural History of Destruction*□London□2004□□p.31□

[31] United States Strategic Bombing Survey□*Over-all Report□European War□*□Washington DC□US Government Printing Office□1945□□p.95.□□□□□□□□Maddison□Angus□*The World Economy□Historical Statistics*□Paris□OECD□2003□□pp.38-9□

[32] Taras Hunczak□"Ukrainian-Jewish Relations during the Soviet and Nazi Occupations"□in Boshyk□Yury□ed.□□*Ukraine during World War II□History and its Aftermath*□Edmonton□University of Alberta□1986□□p.47□and Kondufor□Yuri□ed.□□*A Short History of the Ukraine*□Kiev□Naukova Dumka□1986□□p.239.□□□□□□□□□□922.7□□□□□□□Maddison□Angus□*The World Economy□Historical Statistics*□Paris□OECD□2003□□p.96□

[33] Lane□Arthur Bliss□*I Saw Poland Betrayed□An American Ambassador Reports to the American People*□New York and Indianapolis□Bobbs-Merrill□1948□□p.26.

[34] Werth□Alexander□*Russia at War*□London□Barrie & Rockliff□1964□□p.815.

[35] Anne O’Hare McCormick□“Europe’s Five Black Years”□*New York Times Magazine*□3 September 1944□p.42.

[36] Anne O’Hare McCormick□“Europe’s Five Black Years”□*New York Times Magazine*□3 September 1944□pp.42-3.

[37] Judt□Tony□*Postwar□A History of Europe Since 1945*□London□Pimlico□2007□□p.17.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1944□12□15□□□□□□50□□□□20.2□□□□□□□Coles□Harry L. and Albert K. Weinberg□eds.□□*Civil Affairs□Soldiers Become Governors*□Washington□DC□US Govt Printing Office□1964□□p.826□

[38] Nøkelby□Berit□‘Adjusting to Allied Victory’□in Henrik S. Nissen□ed.□□*Scandinavia during the Second World War*□trans. Thomas Munch-Petersen□Minneapolis□University of Minnesota Press□1983□□p.315.

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[40] Tomasevich□Jozo□*War and Revolution in Yugoslavia□Occupation and Collaboration*□Stanford University Press□2001□□p.715.

[41] Judt□Tony□*Postwar□A History of Europe Since 1945*□London□Pimlico□2007□□p.17.□□□□□□2.8□□□□□□□□□□Krawchenko□Bohdan□'Soviet Ukraine under Nazi Occupation□1941-4'□in Yury Boshyk□ed.□□*Ukraine during World War II*□Edmonton□University of Alberta□1986□□p.15□

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[44] Order to SS-Obergruppenführer Prützmann on 3 September 1943□□□Dallin□Alexander□*German Rule in Russia 1941-1945□A Study of Occupation Policies*□London and Basingstoke□Macmillan□1981□□p.364□

[45] □□Glanz□Susan□'Economic Platforms of the Various Political Parties in the Elections of 1945'□in Nándor Dreiszige

r□ed.□□*Hungary in the Age of Total War□1938-1948□*□New York□Columbia University Press□1998□□pp.170 and 186□

[46] Judt□Tony□*Postwar□A History of Europe Since 1945*□London□Pimlico□2007□□p.17.

[47] Tomasevich□Jozo□*War and Revolution in Yugoslavia□Occupation and Collaboration*□Stanford University Press□2001□□p.715.

[48] □□□□□□Nøkelby□Berit□'Adjusting to Allied Victory'□in Henrik S. Nissen□ed.□□*Scandinavia during the Second World War*□trans. Thomas Munch-Petersen□Minneapolis□University of Minnesota Press□1983□□p.315□□□□Jan Szafrański□"Poland's Losses in World War II"□in Nurowski□Roman□ed.□□*1939-1945 War Losses in Poland*□Poznań and Warsaw□Wydawnictwo Zachodnie□1960□□pp.68-9□□□□□□□□□Judt□Tony□*Postwar□A History of Europe Since 1945*□London□Pimlico□2007□□p.17□□□□□Judt□Tony□*Postwar□A History of Europe Since 1945*□London□Pimlico□2007□□p.17 □Hitchcock□William I.□*Liberation□The Bitter Road to Freedom□Europe 1944-1945*□London□Faber & Faber□2009□□p.228□□□□□UNRRA statistics□□□Hitchcock□William I.□*Liberation□The Bitter Road to Freedom□Europe 1944-1945*□London□Faber & Faber□2009□□p.234□□□Vera Zamagni□"Italy□How to Lose the War and Win the Peace"□in Harrison□Mark□ed.□□*The Economics of World War T*

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[51] Levi□Primo□*Survival in Auschwitz and The Reawakening□Two Memoirs*□trans. Stuart Woolf□New York□Summit Books□1986□□p.367.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Hans Erich Nossack[illegible]1943[illegible]“[illegible]”[1][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][2]

[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible][3]

[illegible]

[illegible]3%[illegible]3500[illegible]4000[illegible][4][illegible]3500[illegible]4200[illegible][5][illegible]1000[illegible]

[illegible]30[illegible]1/3[illegible][6][illegible]50[illegible]21[illegible]8.6[illegible]31[illegible][7][illegible]450[illegible]150[illegible][8]

[illegible]41[illegible]700[illegible]6%[illegible][9][illegible]45[illegible]5%[illegible][10][illegible]100[illegible]6.3%[illegible][11][illegible]8%[illegible]9%[illegible][12][illegible]6[illegible]1[illegible]600[illegible][13]

[illegible]2700[illegible][14][illegible]700[illegible]800[illegible]5[illegible]1[illegible][15][illegible]1/4[illegible][16]

[illegible]1945[illegible]

2.1939~1945年欧洲各国死亡人数

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]21[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible][17] [illegible]·[illegible]Edith Baneth[illegible]

> 每当想起我们失去的家人，我们的心情就永远不可能平复。家人是无可取代的，即使到了第二代、第三代，这种失落感依然存在。当年我们举行成人礼和婚礼的时候，两家来做客的亲友可能多达五六十人。但当我的儿子举行成人礼和婚礼的时候，已经没有亲友来做客了，这就是第二代、第三代感知大屠杀的方式，他们失去了自己的亲人。我的儿子从来没有经历过家族生活，本来他有叔叔、姑姑、爷爷、奶奶，但现在家里却无比空洞。[18]

1945[illegible]6[illegible]11[illegible]12[illegible]13[illegible][19] [illegible]1944[illegible]·[illegible]Victor Breitburg[illegible]“[illegible]54[illegible]”[20]

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不仅我的父母、我的叔叔、我的姑姑、我的兄弟，就连我所有的儿时玩伴、我所有的左邻右里，生活在德罗霍贝奇的全体居民都被杀害了，大约3万人，全部被枪决。我不仅看着我最亲密的家人被杀害，而且看着所有人被杀害。我每天都看见有人被杀，这构成了我童年记忆的组成部分。[26]

□□□·□□□□□Vasily Grossman□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1943□□

乌克兰再也没有犹太人。波尔塔瓦、哈尔科夫、克列缅丘格、鲍里斯波尔、亚戈京，哪里都没有犹太人，在这数十座城市、数百处城

镇、数千个村庄，你看不到又黑又瘦的小女孩眼泪涟涟，你听不到老妇人痛苦呻吟，你看不到饥饿的婴儿面如菜色。只有一片死寂，只有一片肃杀。整个民族都被残忍地谋杀了。[27]

[illegible]

这是对伟大的、古老的精妙文化的谋杀，这种文化在数以千计的能工巧匠家庭和知识分子家庭中世代相传。这是对祖辈传承的日常传统的谋杀，这是对记忆的谋杀，这是对哀怨歌曲和民间诗篇的谋杀，这是对充满喜怒哀乐的生活的谋杀，这是对家园和墓地的破坏，这是一个与乌克兰人共同生活了数百年的民族的消亡……[28]

[illegible]11[illegible]·[illegible]Celina Lieberman[illegible]1942[illegible][29]

[illegible]·[illegible]1945[illegible]30[illegible]160[illegible][30]

[illegible]7200[illegible][31][illegible][32][illegible]4.9[illegible][33]

[illegible]·[illegible]Oskar Schindler[illegible]1953[illegible]21700[illegible][34][illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible][35]

[illegible]

[illegible]59.2[illegible][36][illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]

□□1945□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□Zbigniew Ogrodzinski□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”[37]

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> 行程初段是穿越拉宾斯坦菲尔德森林，然后穿越大片农田，之后才到达克里维茨。我从未经历过如此怪异的旅程。我唯一见到的人是老气横秋的苏联红军的士兵和哨兵。田园已经荒芜，粮仓已经掏空，原野上没有牛马，也没有家禽，一片死气沉沉。在前往克里维茨的18公里旅程中，我不记得自己还见过什么活物（除了几个苏联士兵）。我没有听到鸟叫，也没有看到任何野生动物。[38]

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□□Oradour-sur-Glane□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1944□□□[41]

□□□Lidice□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□Reinhard He

ydrich[illegible][42]

[illegible]1945[illegible]·[illegible]Miloslava Kalibová[illegible]

> 士兵们低下头，许多人眼泛泪光。我们说："噢不！不要告诉我们更坏的消息……"一名士兵还是告诉了我，我这才知道，三年前所有男人都被枪杀了……就连小男孩都不放过，所有男人都被杀死了……更糟糕的是，孩子们都被毒死了。这对我们来说是巨大的打击。[43]

[illegible]"[illegible]"[illegible][44]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]Antoine de Saint-Exupéry[illegible][45][illegible]"[illegible]……[illegible]"[illegible][46][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]"[illegible]"[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]17[illegible]40[illegible]”[47]

[illegible]1300[illegible]80%[illegible]1959[illegible]1929[illegible]1938[illegible]20[illegible]1/3[illegible][48]

[illegible]1946[illegible]18[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][49][illegible]1945[illegible]5.3[illegible][50]

[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]William Byford-Jones[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][51]

[illegible]100[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][52][illegible]100[illegible]1947[illegible]322053[illegible][53][illegible]Andrzej C.[illegible]

“[illegible]”[54][illegible]1/3[illegible][55]

[illegible]

我们这些孩子就像野狗一样。当时的生活非常有趣！恐惧全无，阳光普照，乐趣无穷……有一次，我们找到一枚未引爆的炮弹。我们知道这很危险，我们把炮弹放进小溪里冷却一会儿，其实我们也不知道该怎么做……最后我们把炮弹扔进火堆，跑到河谷对面，看看会发生什么事情。结果发生了巨大的爆炸。我们从未想过，如果有人碰巧走近火堆会怎么样，我们完全不假思索。又有一次，我们发现一些德军机枪子弹，数量很多。我们把子弹放进别人弃置在森林的铁炉子里，塞进柴火，点燃炉子。结果非常好玩！炉子开始穿孔，直到被打成筛子！

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]……”[56]

[illegible]1300[illegible][57][illegible]

[illegible]1948[illegible]9[illegible]2[illegible][58]

[illegible][59][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[1] Nossack[illegible]Hans Erich[illegible]*Der Untergang*[illegible]Hamburg[illegible]Ernst Kabel Verlag[illegible]1981[illegible]p.67.

[2] Nossack[illegible]Hans Erich[illegible]*Der Untergang*[illegible]Hamburg[illegible]Ernst Kabel Verlag[illegible]1981[illegible]p.98.

[3] Nossack[illegible]Hans Erich[illegible]*Der Untergang*[illegible]Hamburg[illegible]Ernst Kabel Verlag[illegible]1981[illegible]p.68.Lowe[illegible]Keith[illegible]*Inferno*[illegible]London[illegible]Viking[illegible]2007[illegible]*passim*.

[4] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Frumkin[illegible]*passim*[illegible]

[5] □□□□□□□□□□□Frumkin□Gregory□*Population Changes in Europe Since 1939*□New York□Augustus M. Kelley Inc.□1951□□pp.60 and 117.□□□□Maddison□Angus□*The World Economy□Historical Statistics*□Paris□OECD□2003□□pp.38 and 96□

[6] Frumkin□Gregory□*Population Changes in Europe Since 1939*□New York□Augustus M. Kelley Inc.□1951□□p.168□and Dupuy and Dupuy□p.1309□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□pp.13□37 and 40□□□□□□□63635□□□□□□□□□□□□□234475□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Milward□□□□□□□□□□□□611596□□□□□□□□□□□Milward□Alan S.□*War□Economy and Society 1939-1945*□Berkeley and Los Angeles□University of California Press□1979□□p.211□

[7] □□□Frumkin□□□□□□60□□□Rioux□□□Rioux□Jean-Pierre□*The Fourth Republic 1944-1958*□trans. Godfrey Rogers□Cambridge University Press□1987□□p.18□□Milward□□□□□□□49.7□□□□Milward□Alan S.□*War□Economy and Society 1939-1945*□Berkeley and Los Angeles□University of California Press□1979□□p.211□□□Rioux□□□□□□□30□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Frumkin□□□□□□21□□Frumkin□Gregory□*Population Changes in Europe Since 1939*□New York□Augustus M. Kelley Inc.□1951□□p.168□□□□□□□□□□□□p.749□□□□7□□□□□□□□□□□□□Frumkin□□□□□8.8□□Frumkin□Gregory□*Population Changes in Europe Since 1939*□New York□Augustus M. Kelley Inc.□1951□□p.168□□□□□2.7□□□□□□Martin Gilbert□□□□□□24387□□□□□□□□□□*Atlas of the Hol*

ocaust□p.231□□□□□Frumkin□□□□□41□□Frumkin□Gregory□*Population Changes in Europe Since 1939*□New York□Augustus M. Kelley Inc.□1951□□p.103□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□159957□□□□□□149496□□□□□□□□□309453□□□Istituto Centrale di Statistica□*Morti e Dispersi per Cause Belliche Negli Anni 1940-45*□Rome□Istituto Centrale di Statistica□1957□□pp.3-11□

[8] □□Frumkin□□□420□□□□□□□Frumkin□Gregory□*Population Changes in Europe Since 1939*□New York□Augustus M. Kelley Inc.□1951□□p.83□□Overmans□□□□□600□□□□□□□445.6□□□□□□□□□□Overmans□Rüdiger□*Deutsche militärische Verluste im Zweiten Weltkrieg*□Oldenbourg□Wissenschaftsverlag□2000□□pp.333-6□Milward□□□□□600□□□□□□Milward□Alan S.□*War□Economy and Society 1939-1945*□Berkeley and Los Angeles□University of California Press□1979□□p.211□□□United States Strategic Bombing Survey□*Over-all Report□European War□*□Washington DC□US Government Printing Office□1945□□p.95□□30.5□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1962□□□□□□□□□□□□□57□□□□□*Wirtschaft und Statistik*□1962□p.139□

[9] Frumkin□□□16□□□□□□□□□14□□□□□Frumkin□Gregory□*Population Changes in Europe Since 1939*□New York□Augustus M. Kelley Inc.□1951□□pp.89-91□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□25□□□□□Mazower□Mark□*Inside Hitler's Greece*□New Ha

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[10] Frumkin□□□43□□□□□□□Frumkin□Gregory□*Population Changes in Europe Since 1939*□New York□Augustus M. Kelley Inc.□1951□□p.94□□Glanz□□□42□□45□□□Glanz□Susan□‘Economic Platforms of the Various Political Parties in the Elections of 1945’□in Nándor Dreisziger□ed.□□*Hungary in the Age of Total War□1938-1948□*□New York□Columbia University Press□1998□□p.169□Maddison□□□□□□□□□□922.7□□p.96□□

[11] □□□□□□□□102.7□□□□□Tomasevich□□□□Tomasevich□Jozo□*War and Revolution in Yugoslavia□Occupation and Collaboration*□Stanford University Press□2001□□pp.718-50□and Croatian State Commission for Establishing Crimes of Occupying Forces and their Assistants□*Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp*□Banja Luka□Becjead□2000□□pp.19-26□Maddison□Angus□*The World Economy□Historical Statistics*□Paris□OECD□2003□□p.96□□□□□□□□□□□□□1630.5□.

[12] □□□□□□□□□□□□□Misiunas□Romuald and Rein Taagepera□*The Baltic States□Years of Dependence 1940-1990*□London□Hurst & Co.□1993□□p.356□

[13] Frumkin□□□□□□□□58□□□□□320□□□□Frumkin□Gregory□*Population Changes in Europe Since 1939*□New York□Augustus M. Kelley Inc.□1951□□p.122□□□1947□□□□□□□□□□□602.8□□□□□□□□□□□□□□290□□□□□□□□□Biuro Odszkodowańjennych przy Prezydium Rady Ministrów□□□□□Davies□Norman□*God’s Playground□A History of Poland*□Oxford University Press□2005□□p.344 and Jan Szafrański□“Poland’s Losses in World War II”□in Nurowski□Roman□ed.□□*1939-1945 War Losses in Poland*□Poznań and Warsaw□Wydawnictwo Zachodnie□1960□□p.44□□□□□□□3480□□□□□5□

[14] □□□□□□□□□□□□Krivosheev□G. F.□ed.□□*Soviet Casualties and Combat Losses in the Twentieth Century*□London□Greenhill□1997□□p.83□□□Barber□John and Mark Harrison□*The Soviet Home Front□1941-1945□A Social and Economic History of the USSR in World War II*□London and New York□Longman□1991□□p.206□Milward□□□□1700□□□Milward□Alan S.□*War□Economy and Society 1939-1945*□Berkeley and Los Angeles□University of California Press□1979□□p.211□Overy□Richard□*Russia’s War*□London□Allen Lane□1997□□p.288□□□□2500□□□□□□□□□□□1956□□□□□□□2000□□□□□□□□□1991□□□□□□□2500□□□

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[22] Skolnik□Fred and Michael Berenbaum□eds.□□*Encyclopaedia Judaica*□22 vols.□Farmington Hills□MI□Thomson Gale□2007□□vol.XX□pp.670□674.

[23] Skolnik□Fred and Michael Berenbaum□eds.□□*Encyclopaedia Judaica*□22 vols.□Farmington Hills□MI□Thomson Gale□2007□□vol.XIV□p.294.

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[41] Farmer□Sarah□*Martyred Village*□London and Berkeley□University of California Press□2000□□*passim*.

[42] □□□□□□□□□□□□Anon.□*Komu sluší omluva□Češi a sudetští němci□Dokumenti□fakta□svědectví□*□p.70□□□Sayer□Derek□*The Coasts of Bohemia□A Czech History*□Princeton University Press□1998□□pp.231 and 369□fn.45□

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[47] Major A.G.Moon□IWM Docs 06/126/1□typescript memoir.□□□□□□□□□□□1□2□□□Naimark□Norman□*The Russians in G*

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[50] Byford-Jones□W.□*Berlin Twilight*□London□Hutchinson□1947□□p.52.

[51] Byford-Jones□W.□*Berlin Twilight*□London□Hutchinson□1947□□p.55.

[52] Macardle□Dorothy□*Children of Europe□A Study of the Children of Liberated Countries□their War-time Experience*

s□their Reactions□and their Needs□with a Note on Germany□London□Victor Gollancz□1949□□p.80.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1946□□□□□□170□□□□□Brosse□Thérèse□*War-Handicapped Children*□Paris□UNESCO□1950□□p.30□

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[57] □□□□□□□□1948□□□□□Brosse□Thérèse□*War-Handicapped Children*□Paris□UNESCO□1950□□p.28□

[58] □□□□□□□□□□□Macardle□Dorothy□*Children of Europe□A Study of the Children of Liberated Countries□their War-time Experiences□their Reactions□and their Needs□with a Note on Germany*□London□Victor Gollancz□1949□□pp.58□80□107□156□200□206 and 287□

[59] □□□□Lucie Cluver and Frances Gardner□"The Mental Health of Children Orphaned by Aids□A Review of International And Southern African Research"□*Journal of Child and Adolescent Mental Health*□19□1□□2007□□pp.1-17□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]800[illegible]650[illegible][1]

[illegible]1945[illegible]480[illegible]400[illegible][2][illegible]27.5[illegible]1700[illegible][3][illegible][4][illegible]4000[illegible][5]

[illegible]1945[illegible]4[illegible]·[illegible]Derek Henry[illegible]

我们曾被告知，留意那些德军散兵的口袋，他们随时可能袭击我们，但幸运的是，在我们眼前走过了数千名德军散兵，以及各国难民，都只是径直向西面走去：保加利亚人、罗马尼亚人、俄罗斯人、希腊人、南斯拉夫人、波兰人，不管怎样，他们就在那儿。有些人三

三两两，带着可怜兮兮的家当，东西都垒在脚踏车或者手推车上。有些人聚集成群，挤满客车或者货车。人流远远地看不到尽头。每当我们停下来的时候，他们就来纠缠我们，希望能搞点吃的。[6]

[illegible]·[illegible]Saul Padover[illegible]“[illegible]”[7][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[8][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][9][illegible]

[illegible]9[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Carlsbad[illegible]“[illegible]”[10][illegible]

那段日子真的很饿，因为周围空无一物。我们乞讨，我们偷窃，我们无所不为。我们从土里挖土豆……我经常梦见食物。土豆泥搭配着香熏肉，那是美味中的美味。我想不出有什么比那更美妙的了。一大盘金光闪闪、热气腾腾的土豆泥啊！

[illegible]20[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]9[illegible]Druhm[illegible]60[illegible]

□□□□□□90□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□

那里还有小规模战斗。我们还听到枪声，经常被迫停下脚步，直到枪声远去为止。在这种偏远地区，士兵不知道战争已经结束。桥梁经常被毁，道路损毁严重，我们被迫走回头路，寻找其他可能的路径……我们遇到许多让人灰心丧气的意外状况，比如走了好几里路，发现此路不通，然后被迫折返。有一次，我们沿着一条废弃的主要公路向前走着。我们看见一块俄文书写的大告示板，我们继续向前走，但心里有点不踏实。突然，有人朝着我们大喊大叫。我们看不到任何人，枪声随即响起，子弹在我耳边呼啸而过，甚至擦破了我的衣领。我们意识到自己误入禁地，只好往回走，绕了好几里路，才到达我们要去的地方。

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

在树林里，到处散落着沙发、软床、床垫、枕头，这些家具通常开膛破肚、羽毛遍地，甚至连树上都有。树林里还有婴儿车、蜜饯罐，甚至是摩托车、打字机、汽车、马车、肥皂盒，还有从商店里抢来的许多折叠刀和新鞋子……我们还看见死去的马匹，景象恶心、气味难闻……

□□

路上有许多不同国籍的人，与这对德国夫妇朝着相反的方向行进，绝大多数是正在回家的强迫劳工。他们当中有许多人拖儿带女，

他们只能偷取任何他们需要的东西，比如从当地农民那里偷来的马匹和马车，有时候马车后面还牵着奶牛，以及锅碗瓢盆。他们看上去就像野兽……[11]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

22[illegible]·[illegible]Marilka Ossowska[illegible]1945[illegible]4[illegible]

1945年的德国如同巨大的蚁穴。人人都在迁移。这正是德国东部的景象。那里有逃避俄国人追击的德国人。那里有战俘。那里还有我们，尽管我们人数不多……真的让人难以置信，无数人都在迁移。[12]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1946[illegible]15[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]

[illegible]

[1] [illegible]Tooze[illegible]Adam[illegible]*The Wages of Destruction*[illegible]London[illegible]Penguin[illegible]2007[illegible]p.517[illegible]1944[illegible]790.7[illegible]IWM Docs 84/47/1[illegible]statistical tables kept by Miss B.F.N.Lewis[illegible]Spoerer[illegible]Mark[illegible]*Zwangsarbeit unter dem Hakenkreuz*[illegible]Stutt

gart□Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt□2001□□p.222□Proudfoot□Malcolm J.□*European Refugees 1939-52*□London□Faber & Faber□1957□□p.159□

[2] □□□□□□□□□□□□TNA□PRO WO 219/3549□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Tooze□Adam□*The Wages of Destruction*□London□Penguin□2007□□p.672□□□□□Beevor□Antony□*Berlin□The Downfall 1945*□London□Penguin□2003□□p.48□

[3] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Nichol□John and Tony Rennell□*The Last Escape□The Untold Story of Allied Prisoners of War in Germany 1944-45*□London□Viking□2002□□pp.416-20□

[4] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□Tooze□□□2000□□□Tooze□Adam□*The Wages of Destruction*□London□Penguin□2007□□p.672□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Spoerer□Mark□*Zwangsarbeit unter dem Hakenkreuz*□Stuttgart□Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt□2001□□p.212□Hitchcock□William I.□*Liberation□The Bitter Road to Freedom□Europe 1944-1945*□London□Faber & Faber□2009□□p.250□Proudfoot□Malcolm J.□*European Refugees 1939-52*□London□Faber & Faber□1957□□pp.158-9□Marrus□Michael R.□*The Unwanted□European Refugees in the Twentieth Century*□New York□Oxford University Press□1985□□pp.299□326□

[5] Proudfoot□Malcolm J.□*European Refugees 1939-52*□London□Faber & Faber□1957□□p.34.

[6] Derek L.Henry□IWM Docs 06/126/1□typescript memoir□p.93.

[7] Padover□Saul□*Psychologist in Germany□The Story of an American Intelligence Officer*□London□Phoenix House□1946□□p.273.

[8] Mrs E.Druhm□IWM Docs 02/28/1□manuscript memoir.

[9] Major A.G.Moon□IWM Docs 06/126/1□typescript memoir□p.58.

[10] Andrzej C.□personal interview□11 February 2008.

[11] Mrs E.Druhm□IWM Docs 02/28/1□manuscript memoir.

[12] Marilka Ossowska□personal interview□17 November 2007.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”1943[illegible]*Millions Like Us*[illegible]

[illegible]1944[illegible]28%[illegible][1][illegible]

[illegible]1941[illegible]1942[illegible]10[illegible][2]

□□□3□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□9□□[3]□□□□□□□□41□□□□□□□25□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[4]□□□□□□□□□□1942□□1944□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□1944□□□1945□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1940□5□□□1940□□□[5]

□□1944□5□□□[6]

□□1945□5□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□10□□15□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[7]□□□“□□□□□□”□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□[8]□□□□□□□□□□□□□5000□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1.6□□2□□□[9]

□□“□□□”□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□”□[10]□□□[11]□□1942□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[illegible]25%[illegible][12][illegible]1943[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]2500[illegible]2570[illegible]2445[illegible]1943[illegible]2078[illegible]1412[illegible][13]1945[illegible]2[illegible]“[illegible]”[14]

[illegible]1941[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1600[illegible]1300[illegible][15][illegible]20%[illegible]400[illegible][16]

[illegible]“[illegible]600[illegible]”[17][illegible]

[illegible]Generalplan Ost[illegible]80%[illegible]64%[illegible]75%[illegible]

[illegible]1942[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][18][illegible]

[illegible]1940[illegible]600[illegible][19][illegible]2000[illegible]3000[illegible][20][illegible][21][illegible]7[illegible]8[illegible][22]

[illegible]1941[illegible]130[illegible]165[illegible][23][illegible]900[illegible]64.1[illegible]2[illegible][24]

[illegible]1400[illegible]1945[illegible]9[illegible]1224[illegible]1946[illegible]3[illegible]1014[illegible]1945[illegible]1000[illegible][25]

[illegible]1[illegible]1944[illegible]12[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][26][illegible]

[27] [illegible]1945[illegible]800[illegible]1945[illegible]12[illegible]556[illegible] [28] [illegible] [29] [illegible] [30] [illegible]250%[illegible] [31]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Ray Hunting[illegible]1944[illegible]

> 不加选择地向饥饿的人群抛掷食物，这根本就是个错误。他们马上为列车上抛下来的东西扭打成一团。男人最为粗暴，他们彼此拳打脚踢，就是为了抢到罐头食品；妇女彼此抢夺食物，塞到孩子手中，而孩子们随时都会被粗暴的人们踩在脚下。

[illegible]“[illegible]” [32]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1943□□

□□□·□□□Kathryn Hulme□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1945□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

> 我简直无法相信，这些装着肉酱和沙丁鱼的闪亮罐头，几乎在营地里引起骚动。立顿茶包、瓦灵顿屋咖啡罐、维生素巧克力条，引起人们近乎疯狂的追逐。但事实就是如此。这是欧洲历经破坏的例证，一如法兰克福那荒凉的废墟。这是人心的废墟。目睹此情此景，更让我痛苦万分。[33]

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[1] □□□□□□□□□*New York Times* magazine□18 March 1945□p.51□□□□□□□□□Milward□Alan S.□*War□Economy and Society 1939-1945*□Berkeley and Los Angeles□University of California Press□1979□□p.255□

[2] □□Hionidou□Violetta□*Famine and Death in Occupied Greece□1941-1944*□Cambridge University Press□2006□□esp. ch.4□

[3] Hionidou□Violetta□*Famine and Death in Occupied Greece□1941-1944*□Cambridge University Press□2006□□p.162.

[4] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Mazower□Mark□*Inside Hitler’s Greece*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□1995□□p.41□□□□□□□□10□□45□□□□□□Hionidou□Violetta□*Famine and Death in Occupied Greece□1941-1944*□Cambridge University Press□2006□□pp.2□158□

[5] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□van der Zee□Henri□*The Hunger Winter□Occupied Holland 1944-5*□London□Jill Norman and Hobhouse□1982□□*passim*□□□Fuykschot□Cornelia□*Hunger in Holland□Life during the Nazi Occupation*□New York□Prometheus□1995□□pp.124-50□

[6] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□TNA□PRO FO 371/39329□20 May 1944□□□AIR 8/823□“Interview between the Prime Minister and Dr Gerbrandy□Prime Minister of the Netherlands”□5 October 1944□□WO 106/4419□and FO 371/49032□□□□□Hitchcock□William I.□*Liberation□The Bitter Road to Freedom□Europe 1944-1945*□London□Faber & Faber□2009□□pp.98-122□

[7] NARA RG 331 SHAEF G-5□entry 47□box 27□Military Government Branch□Main HQ□First Canadian Army□Weekly Report no.27□period 13-19 May 1945.

[8] *The Times*□7 May 1945.

[9] □□□□□□□Hitchcock□William I.□*Liberation□The Bitter Road to Freedom□Europe 1944-1945*□London□Faber & Faber□2009□□p.122□□□□□□□□Hirschfeld□Gerhard□*Nazi Rule and Dutch Collaboration□The Netherlands under German Occupation 1940-1945*□trans. Louise Willmot□Oxford□New York and Hamburg□Berg□1988□□p.53□

[10] Himmler to Seyss-Inquart□7 January 1941□□□Hirschfeld□Gerhard□*Nazi Rule and Dutch Collaboration□The Netherlands under German Occupation 1940-1945*□trans. Louise Willmot□Oxford□New York and Hamburg□Berg□1988□□p.46□

[11] Tooze□Adam□*The Wages of Destruction*□London□Penguin□2007□□p.264.

[12] Tooze□Adam□*The Wages of Destruction*□London□Penguin□2007□□p.539.

[13] □□□□□□□□Judt□Tony□*Postwar□A History of Europe Since 1945*□London□Pimlico□2007□□p.21□Tooze□Adam□*The Wages of Destruction*□London□Penguin□2007□□p.361□

[14] Letter of 4 February 1945□in Wolff-Mönckeberg□Mathilde□*On the Other Side□To My Children from Germany 1940-1945*□London□Peter Owen□1979□□p.107.

[15] Tooze□Adam□*The Wages of Destruction*□London□Penguin□2007□□p.419.

[16] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□TNA□PRO WO 32/16168□Montgomery message to Eisenhower□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Burger□G. C. E.□J. C. Drummond and H. R. Stanstead□eds.□□*Malnutrition and Starvation in Western Netherlands September 1944-July 1945*□The Hague□General State Printing Office□1948□□pp.20-24□□□□□□□□□Hitchcock□William I.□*Liberation□The Bitter Road to Freedom□Europe 1944-1945*□London□Faber & Faber□2009□□p.114□

[17] □□Mazower□Mark□*Inside Hitler's Greece*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□1995□□p.33.

[18] Tooze□Adam□*The Wages of Destruction*□London□Penguin□2007□□p.467.

[19] Tooze□Adam□*The Wages of Destruction*□London□Penguin□2007□□p.366.

[20] Tooze□Adam□*The Wages of Destruction*□London□Penguin□2007□□pp.479-80.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□3000□□□□□□”□□□Rees□Laurence□*Auschwitz*□London□BBC Books□2005□□pp.53-4□

[21] □□□□the many stories in Geddes□Giorgio□*Nichivo*□London□Cassell□2001□□*passim*.

[22] Krawchenko□Bohdan□‘Soviet Ukraine under Nazi Occupation□1941-4’□in Yury Boshyk□ed.□□*Ukraine during Worl*

d War II□Edmonton□University of Alberta□1986□□p.27.

[23] □□□□□□□Spoerer□Mark□*Zwangsarbeit unter dem Hakenkreuz*□Stuttgart□Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt□2001□□p.72□□□□□□□□□Tooze□Adam□*The Wages of Destruction*□London□Penguin□2007□□p.482□□□□□60□□□□□□□□□Herbert□Ulrich□*Hitler’s Foreign Workers□Enforced Foreign Labor in Germany under the Third Reich*□trans. William Templer□Cambridge University Press□1985□□p.141□

[24] Glantz□David□*Leningrad□City under Siege 1941-1944*□Rochester□Grange Books□2005□□p.220.

[25] TNA□FO 1005/1631□Reports on conditions in Germany□1945-1946.

[26] *New York Times*□9 September 1944□“MYM100□000□000 in Aid Sent to Italians”□*Daily Express*□6 September 1944□“Finished with War□Rome Cries for Bread”□*New York Times*□8 December 1944□“Housewives Riot on Prices in Rome”.

[27] Hitchcock□William I.□*Liberation□The Bitter Road to Freedom□Europe 1944-1945*□London□Faber & Faber□2009□□p.234.

[28] □□Macardle□Dorothy□*Children of Europe□A Study of the Children of Liberated Countries□their War-time Experien*

ces□their Reactions□and their Needs□with a Note on Germany□London□Victor Gollancz□1949□□p.206□

[29] Ruth Irmgard testimony in Jacobs□Ingeborg□*Freiwild□Das Schicksal deutscher Frauen 1945*□Berlin□Propyläen□2008□□p.72.

[30] Botting□Douglas□*In the Ruins of the Reich*□London□Methuen□2005□□p.168□Lewis□Norman□*Naples ’44*□London□Collins□1978□□p.61.

[31] Macardle□Dorothy□*Children of Europe□A Study of the Children of Liberated Countries□their War-time Experiences□their Reactions□and their Needs□with a Note on Germany*□London□Victor Gollancz□1949□□p.201.

[32] R.J.Hunting□IWM Docs 10519 P339□typescript memoir□pp.272-4.

[33] □□Hitchcock□William I.□*Liberation□The Bitter Road to Freedom□Europe 1944-1945*□London□Faber & Faber□2009□□p.277□

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1943□10□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□91□□□□□□□□·□□□Norman Lewis□□

□□□

那里站着一排女子，每隔一码站一个人，背靠墙壁站着。这些女子衣着得体，从面容来看，都是些喜爱逛街购物和闲言碎语的工薪阶层妇女。每位女子身旁，都叠放着一小堆罐头，显而易见的是，只要再放上一个罐头，士兵就可以选定任何一位女子，在大庭广众之下行苟且之事。那些女子一动不动、一言不发、面无表情、如同蜡像。她们仿佛在卖鱼，只是这里没有鱼市场的喧嚣吵闹。无须拉客、无须暗示、无须挑逗，甚至无须有意无意地裸露肉体。最冲动的几名士兵已经跃跃欲试，手里攥着罐头，拼命挤到前面，但面对面地看着这些因为家里粒米不剩而到这里来的家庭妇女，看着她们那面不改色的麻木表情，士兵们似乎退缩了。再一次，现实击碎了梦想，气氛变得极为尴尬。有人在偷偷发笑，笑声渐渐平息，看得出有人想偷偷溜走。一名酒醉微醺的士兵，在同伴的反复怂恿下，终于在一位女子身旁放下

罐头，士兵脱了衣服，压在女子身上，动了几下就草草收场。转眼间，士兵站了起来，穿好衣服。看得出来，他也想尽快了结此事。他也许觉得自己像被送上了军事法庭，而不是享受男欢女爱。

[illegible]“[illegible]”[1]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible][2]

[illegible]·[illegible]Roscoe Blunt[illegible]“[illegible]‘ficken’[illegible]fuck[illegible]‘kuszen’[illegible]kiss[illegible]”[illegible]12[illegible][3] [illegible]13[illegible]10[illegible][4]

[illegible]*Daily Express*[illegible]·[illegible]Alan Moorehead[illegible]

[illegible]10[illegible]6[illegible]

在我看来，人类种种肮脏污秽的行为，都比不上我在那不勒斯头几个月里看到的一切。我们所看到的其实是人类道德的彻底崩溃。人们不再有自尊或者尊严。动物的生存法则压倒一切。食物，就是唯一的追求。给孩子的食物，给自己的食物，不惜以卑躬屈膝、腐化堕落为代价换取的食物。除了食物之外，但求不冻馁，但求不露宿。[5]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[6]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1941[illegible][7][illegible][8]

[illegible][9][illegible]

[illegible]1939[illegible]9[illegible][10]

1939[illegible]1939[illegible]1945[illegible]4[illegible][11][illegible]3[illegible][12][illegible][13][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[14]

[illegible]1945[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[15][illegible][16][illegible][17]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]2000[illegible]800%[illegible]1946[illegible]240[illegible][18][illegible]“[illegible]”[19][illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]Ruth Andreas-Friedrich[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][20][illegible]“[illegible]……”[21][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][22][illegible]·[illegible]Maria Bielicka[illegible]

我当时就坐在妹妹身边，万达（Wanda）说道：“你知道吗，我喜欢墙上那幅画。我想我会拿走它的。我受过那么多苦，我觉得拿一幅画不算什么。”我说道：“那里还有些瓷器。我非常喜欢。我们在那间工厂当了那么多年制造瓷器的奴隶。我会拿些瓷器的。”[23]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]35[illegible][24][illegible]

[illegible]5.5[illegible]4[illegible][25][illegible]“[illegible]”[26][illegible]5[illegible]10[illegible][27]

[illegible]194

6□□□
□□□□□□□□“□□□”[28]

□□□1945□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□Margaret Gore□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□……□□□□□□□□□□□”[29]

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□□[30]□□

□□□1946□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□Frederick Morgan□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”[31]□□“□□□□□□

[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[32]

[illegible]15[illegible][33][illegible]

[illegible][34]

[illegible][35][illegible][36][illegible][37][illegible][38][illegible][39][illegible]“[illegible]”[40][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][41][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible][42][illegible][43][illegible]“[illegible]”[44]

[illegible]1939[illegible]1945[illegible]50%[illegible][45]

[illegible]1945[illegible]

[illegible][46][illegible]·[illegible]Christabel Bielenberg[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]12[illegible]80[illegible]”[illegible][47][illegible]12[illegible]70[illegible][48][illegible][49]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Untermenschen[illegible]·[illegible]Vasily Grossman[illegible][50][illegible]·[illegible]Genia Demianova[illegible]“[illegible]”[51]

[illegible][52][illegible]1944[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Alaine Polcz[illegible]20[illegible]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□□□□□□□[53]

□□□·□□□Marie Naumann□□“□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□[54]

□□·□□□□Lev Kopelev□□□□□·□□□□□Alexander Solzhenitsyn□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1945□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[55]

□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□10□□□□□□”□[56]□□□□□□□□□·□□□Hannelore Thiele□□“7□□□□□□□□”□□□[57]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“23□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”[58]□□·□□□·□□□Karl August Knorr□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□60□70□”□[59]□□□□□□□□□□□□

1945□□8.7□□[60]□□□□□□□□□□□□11□

[illegible][61][illegible]1948[illegible][62][illegible]200[illegible][63]

[illegible]1989[illegible]5[illegible]20[illegible][64][illegible]1942[illegible]1945[illegible]1.7[illegible][65]

[illegible]200[illegible]15[illegible]20[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][66][illegible]60%[illegible]1945[illegible]8[illegible][67][illegible][68]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][69][illegible][70]

[illegible][71]

[illegible]“[illegible]”“[illegible]”“[illegible]”[72][illegible]·[illegible]
“[illegible]”[illegible][73]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]

> 不必为此感到羞愧，那些士兵排队在德国妇女身上找点乐子又怎样？他们强奸小女孩又怎样？他们杀死老妇人又怎样？若非如此，他们终究会祸害我们自己的城市，祸害我们自己的妇女和女孩。那将是数百万名潜在的罪犯，那将会倍加危险，因为他们是带着英雄的荣誉回到家乡的。[74]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Frau komm[illegible]

□□□□□□□[75]□□□□□□·□□□-□□□Salvation Army□□[76]

□□40%□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[77]□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□Martin Bormann□□□□□□1937□1942□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1943□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[78]□□1945□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□“□□□□”□[79]

□□[80]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1945□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□12□□1944□1945□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□‘□□□□’□”□□□□□Crisp□□□□□□□□□□□□*Daily Express*□□□

在他们身上，你看不到正派、温和、谦逊，却只看到兽性、贪婪、残忍。这一代人被刻意培养成残酷无情的男子汉，以执行一名疯子下达的可怕命令。没有什么正派思想能够触动他们。1920年以来出生的每一名德国人，都受到这种罪恶的诅咒。他们越是年轻，就越会

受到这种邪恶流毒的深度沾染。每个在希特勒统治时期出生的孩子都是迷途的孩子。这是迷途的一代。

□□“□□”[81]

□□moral□□*Völkischer Beobachter*□□□

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[15] Moorehead□Alan□*Eclipse*□London□Granta□2000□□p.66.

[16] Porch□Douglas□*Hitler's Mediterranean Gamble*□London□Weidenfeld & Nicolson□2004□□p.518.

[17] Lewis□Norman□*Naples '44*□London□Collins□1978□□p.100.

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[20] Andreas-Friedrich□Ruth□*Battleground Berlin*□*Diaries 1945-1948*□trans. Anna Boerresen□New York□Paragon House□1990□□p.20□entry for 9 May 1945.

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]5[illegible]

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[illegible]1945[illegible]

[illegible]40[illegible]50[illegible]*The Great Escape*[illegible]*The Cruel Sea*[illegible]*The Dam Buster*[illegible]*Ill Met by Moonlight*[illegible]*The Colditz Story*[illegible]*Reach for the Sky*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]40[illegible]·[illegible]Jens Müller[illegible]*Tre kom tilbake*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Oluf Olsen[illegible]1943[illegible]·[illegible]Knut Haukelid[illegible]

[illegible]*The Heroes of Telemark*[illegible]·[illegible]Max Manus[illegible]1946[illegible]2008[illegible][3]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Bram van der Stok[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Mogens Fog[illegible]*Frit Danmark*[illegible]·[illegible]Marie Kudeříková[illegible]·[illegible]Josef Mašin[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]5[illegible]9[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Josip Broz Tito[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

南斯拉夫人民！

塞尔维亚人、克罗地亚人、斯洛文尼亚人、马其顿人、门的内哥罗人、穆斯林！

你们翘首以盼的日子终于到来了！……企图奴役你们的邪恶力量已被击败。德国和意大利法西斯主义者让你们彼此对立，让你们在自相残杀的斗争中自我毁灭。但你们最优秀的儿女，出于对祖国及其各民族的热爱，挫败了敌人残忍的计划。相互仇视、彼此敌对已成过去，今天你们已团结成崭新的、快乐的南斯拉夫……

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”。[4]

[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”。[5] [illegible]·[illegible]Constantin Sănătescu[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”。[6] [illegible]“[illegible]”。[7]

“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1945[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]50[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Theodora FitzGibbon[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][8]

[illegible]·[illegible]Richard Mayne[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Jean Monnet[illegible]·[illegible]Walter Hallstein[illegible]

> 并非所有对欧洲的“伟大预期”都得以实现。但有一条是最为根本的：一种团结意识，一种在战争期间隐约闪现的团结意识。无论你承认与否，这种团结意识让人们竭尽全力去建设更美好的世界、更美好的欧洲、更美好的社会，更多公平、更少成见、更少等级，并且从第二次世界大战所打破的人为障碍中解脱出来。[9]

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[illegible]·[illegible]Slavenka Drak

ulić[illegible]“[illegible][illegible]100[illegible]”[11]

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[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[13][illegible]·[illegible]Edward R.Murrow[illegible]“[illegible]”[14]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][15][illegible]·[illegible]Heda Kovaly[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[16]

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[1] Motto of Jean-Paul Sartre’s *Les Temps modernes*□□□□Watson□Peter□*A Terrible Beauty*□London□Phoenix□2001□□p. 410□

[2] Mayne□Richard□*Postwar□The Dawn of Today's Europe*□London□Thames & Hudson□1983□□pp.12-32.

[3] Jens Müller□*Tre kom tilbake*□Oslo□Gyldendal□1946□□Oluf Olsen□*Contact*□Oslo□Erik Qvist□1946□and *Vi kommer igjen*□Oslo□Erik Qvist□1945□□Knut Haukelid□*Det demrer en dag*□Oslo□Nasjonalforlaget□1947□□Max Manus□*Det blir alvor*□Oslo□Steensballes Boghandels□1946□.

[4] Speech by Josip Broz Tito□9 May 1945□reproduced as doc.239 in Trgo□Lt Gen. Fabijan□ed.□□*The National Liberation War and Revolution in Yugoslavia□Selected Documents*□trans. Anđelija Vujović□Karin Radovanović and Madge Tomašević□Belgrade□Military History Institute of the Yugoslav People's Army□1982□□pp.718-21.

[5] Churchill speech□13 May 1945□□□Cannadine□David□ed.□□*Blood Toil Tears and Sweat□Winston Churchill's Famous Speeches*□London□Cassell□1989□□p.258□VE Day speech□8 May 1945□quoted on www.winston-churchill-leadership.com/speech-victory.html-accessed 23 September 2011□

[6] Declaration of the new Romanian government□as broadcast on Radio Romania□23 August 1944□□□□*Foreign Relations of the United States□FRUS□*□available online at http□//uwdc.library.wisc.edu/collections/FRUS/□1944□vol.IV□p.191□

[7] Speech to meeting of Moscow Communist Party representatives□6 November 1944□□□Stalin□Generalissimo Josef□*War Speeches□Orders of the Day and Answers to Foreign Press Correspondents during the Great Patriotic War July 3rd□1941-June 22nd□1945*□London□Hutchinson□1946□□p.110.

[8] FitzGibbon□Theodora□*With Love*□London□Century□1982□□p.63.FitzGibbon□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[9] Mayne□Richard□*Postwar□The Dawn of Today’s Europe*□London□Thames & Hudson□1983□□p.12.

[10] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[11] Drakulić□Slavenka□*Balkan-Express□Chroniques de la Yougoslavie en Guerre*□Paris□Éditions Mentha□1992□□p.35.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Jan Gross□“War as Revolution”□in Naimark□Norman and Leonid Gibianskii□eds.□□*The Establishment of the Communist Regimes in Eastern Europe*□1944-1949□Boulder□CO□Westview Press□1997□□pp.17-40□

[12] Milward□Alan S.□*War□Economy and Society 1939-1945*□Berkeley and Los Angeles□University of California Press□1979□□pp.284-6.

[13] FitzGibbon□Theodora□*With Love*□London□Century□1982□□p.63.

[14] □□Owen□James and Guy Walters□eds.□□*The Voice of War*□London□Viking□2004□□p.80□

[15] □□Morgan□Philip□*The Fall of Mussolini*□Oxford University Press□2008□□p.64□

[16] Kovaly□Heda Margolis□*Prague Farewell*□trans. Franci Epstein and Helen Epstein□London□Gollancz□1988□□p.57.

[17] □□Kenez□Peters□*Hungary from the Nazis to the Soviets□The Establishment of the Communist Regime in Hungary□1944-1945*□New York□Cambridge University Press□2009□□p.107□

[18] Pelle□János□*Az utoisó vérvádak*□Budapest□Pelikán□1995□□p.151.

[19] Gross□Jan T.□*Fear□Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz*□New York□Random House□2006□□p.40.

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[illegible]21[illegible]40[illegible]

[illegible]1947[illegible]40[illegible]

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[illegible]1945[illegible]

1944[illegible]12[illegible]·[illegible]Dean Acheson[illegible]·[illegible]Harry Hopkins[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][1]

[illegible]Pius XII[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][2]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]50[illegible]1944[illegible]1945[illegible]

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[1] Dean Acheson memorandum to Harry Hopkins□26 December 1944□*Foreign Relations of the United States*□*FRUS*□□available online at http□//uwdc.library.wisc.edu/collections/FRUS/□1945□vol.II□pp.1059-61.

[2] *New York Times*□3 June 1945□p.22.□□□□*Newsweek*□11 June 1945□p.60□

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我们只剩下两个神圣的字眼。

一个是“爱”；另一个是“复仇”。

——瓦西里·格罗斯曼，1943年10月15日[1]

[1] Beevor□Antony and Luba Vinogradova□*A Writer at War□Vasily Grossman with the Red Army 1941-1945*□London□Pimlico□2006□□p.248.

[illegible]

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1944[illegible]10[illegible]Nemmersdorf[illegible]*Le Courrier*[illegible]“[illegible]” [1]

[illegible]Powayen[illegible]Gross Heydekrug[illegible] [2] [illegible] [3] [illegible]Metgethen[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [4]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]” [5] [illegible]1944[illegible]Gofman[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Krasnopol’ye[illegible]

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[1] *Le Courrier de Genève*□7 November 1944.Fisch□Bernhard□*Nemmersdorf□Oktober 1944□Was in Ostpreußen tatsächlich geschah*□Berlin□Edition Ost□1997□□pp.151-3□□□□□
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[2] Hermann Sommer□□□Spieler□Silke□ed.□□*Vertreibung und Vertreibungsverbrechen 1945-1948□Bericht des Bundesarchivs vom 28 Mai 1974□Archivalien und ausgewählte Erlebnisberichte*□Bonn□Bundesarchiv Koblenz & Kulturstiftung der Deutschen Vertriebenen□1989□□p.148□

[3] □□Fisch□Bernhard□*Nemmersdorf□Oktober 1944□Was in Ostpreußen tatsächlich geschah*□Berlin□Edition Ost□1997□□pp.165-7□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[4] Hermann Sommer□□□Spieler□Silke□ed.□□*Vertreibung und Vertreibungsverbrechen 1945-1948□Bericht des Bundesarchivs vom 28 Mai 1974□Archivalien und ausgewählte Erleb*

nisberichte□Bonn□Bundesarchiv Koblenz & Kulturstiftung der Deutschen Vertriebenen□1989□□p.147□

[5] Kopelev□Lev□*No Jail for Thought*□trans. and ed. Anthony Austin□London□Secker & Warburg□1977□□p.37.

[6] □□Ehrenburg□Ilya and Vasily Grossman□eds.□□*The Black Book*□trans. John Glad and James S. Levine□New York□Holocaust Library□1981□□p.236□

[7] □□Ehrenburg□Ilya and Vasily Grossman□eds.□□*The Black Book*□trans. John Glad and James S. Levine□New York□Holocaust Library□1981□□p.234□

[8] □□Ehrenburg□Ilya and Vasily Grossman□eds.□□*The Black Book*□trans. John Glad and James S. Levine□New York□Holocaust Library□1981□□p.38□

[9] Fisch□Bernhard□*Nemmersdorf□Oktober 1944□Was in Ostpreußen tatsächlich geschah*□Berlin□Edition Ost□1997□□pp.141-53□□□□□□□□□□26□□□□□□□□□□□60□□□□

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[illegible]Majdanek[illegible]1944[illegible]7[illegible]Babi Yar[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]” [1]

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[illegible]”[illegible] [3] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Holocaust[illegible]Sobibor[illegible]Treblinka[illegible]Belzec[illegible]1944[illegible]18[illegible] [4] [illegible]1943[illegible]11[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1.8[illegible] [5]

[illegible]·[illegible]Konstantin Simonov[illegible]8[illegible]*Pravda*[illegible]*Krasnaya Zvezda*[illegible] [6] [illegible] [7] [illegible] [8]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]90[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [9] [illegible]Auschwitz[illegible]100[illegible]10[illegible] [10] [illegible] [11]

[illegible] [12] [illegible]1944[illegible]12[illegible]·[illegible]Ilya Ehrenburg[illegible]

如果问一名被俘的德国人，为何他的同胞要杀害600万无辜者，他会回答：“他们是犹太人。他们是黑头发或者红头发的。他们血统不同。”……这一切都起源于愚蠢的玩笑、顽童的吵闹、路牌的标示，结果却是马伊达内克、巴比谷、特雷布林卡，是填满沟渠的孩童尸体。[13]

[illegible][14][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1942[illegible]12[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][15][illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible][16][illegible]

[illegible]1940[illegible]1944[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible][17][illegible]·[illegible]Henry Stimson[illegible]·[illegible]John McCloy[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][18]

[illegible]*Sunday Times*[illegible]·[illegible]Alexander Werth[illegible]BBC[illegible]“[illegible]

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arks[illegible]·[illegible]Howard E.Buechner[illegible][32]

[illegible]17[illegible]25[illegible]50[illegible]·[illegible]Jack Hallett[illegible]

> 我们看到集中营的情景后，一切就失控了，士兵故意打伤集中营守卫，然后将守卫交给犯人处置，让犯人可以任意复仇。实际上，你也看过照片的，一名士兵把自己的刺刀给了一名犯人，然后看着犯人把守卫的头颅割下来。场面相当血腥。许多守卫被士兵开枪打伤腿部，然后动弹不得，然后……这就是我所能说的了……[33]

[illegible]*Geneva Convention*[illegible]4[illegible]15[illegible]-[illegible]Bergen-Belsen[illegible]·[illegible]Josef Kramer[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][34][illegible]·[illegible]Derrick Sington[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][35]

[illegible]

> 一位妇女太过虚弱，以至于无力从尸体堆旁边站起来，我们给她一些食物，她就在那里露天煮食；男人也好，女人也罢，就在露天的地方拉肚子，他们正饱受痢疾折磨；一位妇女赤身裸体地用肥皂擦洗身体，她洗澡的水来自贮水池，里面还漂浮着一具孩童的尸体。[36]

[illegible]·[illegible]Wilhelm Emmerich[illegible]1.6[illegible]3[illegible]1.8[illegible][37][illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Jan Belunek[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Fritz Leo[illegible]·[illegible]Zdeněk Wiesner[illegible]Wiesner[illegible]300[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][38]

[illegible]1945[illegible]4[illegible]27[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Krankenlager[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][39]

[illegible]

[illegible]4[illegible]22[illegible]“[illegible]”

他们收拾尸体和被感染的衣物，用手推车把这些东西集中到万人坑（每个坑埋了5000人）。我们全副武装的士兵每时每刻都在辱骂他们、踢打他们、威胁他们，让他们片刻不能停歇。考虑到他们犯下的惊人罪行，他们曾经是多么令人恐惧啊，这些党卫队员！他们没有宿舍，他们知道，干完活只能老老实实到仓库里待着。[40]

[illegible]369[illegible]Sanderson[illegible]

我们只给党卫队员提供食不果腹的给养，让他们连续不断地干脏活累活。我们毫无顾忌，用枪托击打他们，用刺刀猛刺他们，迫使他们干双倍的活。有一次，一名奄奄一息的党卫队员被扔进万人坑，尸体的臭味几乎让他窒息而死。他尽力想爬出来，却被子弹打伤。后来，人们把他扔回埋尸坑里，就像他当年对待犯人那样对待他。[41]

[illegible]70[illegible]

[illegible]Celle[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[42]

[illegible]4[illegible]23[illegible]8[illegible]

[illegible]Spottiswoode[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[43]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][44]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Israel Gutman[illegible]Gunskirchen[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][45]

[illegible]1947[illegible]·[illegible]Lucius Clay[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[46]

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[illegible]Theresienstadt[illegible]·[illegible]Ben Helfgott[illegible]“[illegible]”[47]

[illegible]·[illegible]Chaskiel Rosenblum[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][48][illegible]·[illegible]Pinkus Kurnedz[illegible]“[illegible]”[49]

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我们都有参与。这是快乐的经历。我唯一感到遗憾的是我未能做得更多。例如，把他们扔出火车。无论在哪里可以殴打德国人，我们都会去。在奥地利，有一次特殊经历。我们待在马厩里，那里还藏着一名德国军官。我们把他揪出来，以其道治其身：我们把他绑在树上，然后对他射击。如果你现在让我这么干，那当然不行，但在当时，这很快乐。我很喜欢。在当时，没有什么比这更令人心满意足了。现在我还会对你说：我很怀疑，任何人处于类似境况中，还会拒绝快意恩仇……也许只有这件事情，值得我们熬过战争，能让我们熬过战争。那种满足感真是太巨大了。[50]

□□□□□·□□□□Alfred Knoller□□

我知道，我们做的某些事情很不人道，但恐怕这就是我潜意识里一直想做的事情。我们想要与德国人战斗。我们并未与他们战斗，但我们还能退而求其次……我们想要复仇。一直都想复仇。这绝对是报复行为。这必然会发生。

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[illegible]·[illegible]Arek Hersh[illegible]“[illegible]24[illegible]”[illegible][52][illegible]·[illegible]Harry Spiro[illegible]24[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][53][illegible]·[illegible]Max Dessau[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][54][illegible]·[illegible]Kurt Klappholz[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’”[illegible][55][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Peter Frank[illegible]4[illegible][56][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[57][illegible]·[illegible]Alfred Huberman[illegible]“[illegible]”[58]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Abba Kovner[illegible]100[illegible]80[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Gabik Sedlis[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]600[illegible]”[illegible][59][illegible]1.5[illegible]1.5[illegible]2000[illegible][60]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][61]

[illegible]1945[illegible]

> 我们通过轻蔑、摒弃、谴责、疏远来报复我们的敌人……只有彻底远离这些谋杀者……我们才能在本质上满足我们的复仇渴望：结束我们在欧洲的放逐之旅，在以色列的土地上建立我们的家园。[62]

[illegible]

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[3] Werth□Alexander□*Russia at War*□London□Barrie & Rockliff□1964□□p.896.

[4] Werth□Alexander□*Russia at War*□London□Barrie & Rockliff□1964□□p.897.

[5] □□Arad□Yitzhak□*Belzec□Sobibor□Treblinka□The Operation Reinhard Deathcamps*□Bloomington□Indiana University Press□1999□□p.368□Werth□Alexander□*Russia at War*□London□Barrie & Rockliff□1964□□pp.890-99□

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[9] Vasily Grossman□“The Hell Called Treblinka”□in Ehrenburg□Ilya and Vasily Grossman□eds.□□*The Black Book*□trans. John Glad and James S. Levine□New York□Holocaust Library□1981□□pp.399-429.□□□□Beevor□Antony and Luba Vinogradova□*A Writer at War□Vasily Grossman with the Red Army 1941-1945*□London□Pimlico□2006□□pp.280-306□□□□□□□□Burleigh□Michael□*The Third Reich□A New History*□London□Pan□2001□□p.650□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□87□□92.5□□□□□□□their Holocaust Encyclopedia page for Treblinka at www.ushmm.org/wlc/article.php□lang=en&ModuleId=10005193□accessed 27 September 2011□

[10] US Holocaust Memorial Museum□Holocaust Encyclopedia page on Auschwitz□www.ushmm.org/wlc/article.php□lang=en&ModuleId=10005189□accessed 27 September 2011.

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[16] TNA□PRO INF 1/251 Part 4□“Plan to combat the apathetic attitude of ‘What have I got to lose even if Germany wins□’”□25 July 1941.

[17] Roosevelt statement to reporters□24 March 1944□□□Beschloss□Michael□*The Conquerors□Roosevelt□Truman and the Destruction of Hitler’s Germany□1941-1945*□New York□Simon & Schuster□2002□□p.59□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Abzug□Robert H.□*Inside the Vicious Heart*□Oxford University Press□

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[42] Derek L.Henry□IWM Docs□06/126/1□typescript memoir□p.95.

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[50] Szmulek Gontarz interview□IWM Sound□10348□reel 4.

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[52] □□Gilbert□Martin□*The Boys*□London□Phoenix□1997□□p.251□

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[56] □□25□□□——□□□

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[58] Alfred Huberman interview□IWM Sound□18050□reel 6.

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Holocaust[illegible] [1] [illegible]1945[illegible]9[illegible] [2]

[illegible]240[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [3]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Ostarbeiters[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]20%[illegible]40%[illegible][4][illegible]

[illegible]1944[illegible][5][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][6][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][7][illegible]

3.星罗棋布的德国集中营

[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]4[illegible]·[illegible]Reuben Seddon[illegible]“[illegible]”[8][illegible]“[illegible]”[9]5[illegible][10]

[illegible][11][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][12]4[illegible]11[illegible]·[illegible]Derek Henry[illegible]Nordhemmern[illegible]

> 那里有男犯人和女犯人，当我们进入营房，他们围住我们。他们绝大多数人都在喝自制伏特加，个个都醉醺醺，他们还想灌我们喝，有些人正在通铺上公开做爱，有些人则是又唱又跳。他们极力想让我们加入，幸运的是我们手里还有步枪……这些难民住在肮脏污秽的环境中，他们的营房臭气熏天，但我们还不得不品尝他们的自制伏特加，他们把酒倒在桌上，然后点火燃烧，证明这些酒有多烈。

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][13]

[illegible]20[illegible]200[illegible][14][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]”[15][illegible]·[illegible]Alan Moorehead[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1891[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][16]

[illegible][17][illegible]200[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][18][illegible]“[illegible]88[illegible]”[illegible][19]

1945[illegible]6[illegible]10[illegible]·[illegible]Leonard Mosley[illegible]“[illegible]10[illegible]”[20]

[illegible]GvH.Lamb[illegible]“[illegible]”[21]

[illegible]

曾经有人告诉我，当一个男人因为打家劫舍而脑子发热时，他会为了抢到东西而不惜杀人伤人，即使那件“东西”根本不值钱，在汉

诺威，我终于证实了这种看法。我们看见一群人闯进仓库；这群大喊大叫的乌合之众，既有德国人，也有外国人；他们打破门窗闯进去，当他们出来时，手上竟然捧着很多门把手！这是一家卖门把手的商店，在这座半数门板不复存在的城市里，这些人抢来的东西真是让我无言以对；然而，他们不仅抢这些门把手，而且还为这些门把手大打出手。他们又踢又抓，还用铁棍敲打那些拿着更多门把手的人。我看见一名外国工人绊倒一名女孩，从她手上抢过门把手，然后反复踢打她的面部和身体，直到女孩倒在血泊之中。然后，他冲到了大街上。走到半路，他似乎意识到什么；他低头看着自己抢来的东西，然后做出一个弃之如敝屣的动作，把那些东西全部扔掉。[22]

[illegible][23][illegible][24]

[illegible]1945[illegible]5[illegible]·[illegible]Ray Hunting[illegible]Wesel[illegible]

我看见前面有两个人：一个正在前往韦瑟尔的俄国人，一个年老的拄着拐杖的德国人，老人正在缓缓向车站走去。当我们走近时，这两个人都停了下来，那个俄国人似乎在打听时间，因为老人正在从背心口袋里掏出怀表。那个俄国人动作连贯地夺过怀表，把一柄长刀捅

进德国老人的胸口。老人踉踉跄跄地跌入沟渠。当我们停下时，老人已经两脚朝天，裤管卷起，露出瘦弱惨白的小腿。

当我用左轮手枪顶住俄国人的肋骨时，他已经把刀抽出来，若无其事地用老人的大衣擦干刀上的血。当俄国人举高双手站在马路上时，我把手枪递给帕特里克，然后我跳进沟渠去帮助受害者。老人已经死了。那个俄国人，那只笨口拙舌的野兽，看着我跪了下来，但他面无表情，亦无悔意。

我拿着刀和怀表，把他塞进货车后车厢，我坐在他对面，拿左轮手枪指着他。我们前往军政府办公室，想把他交给格鲁布上尉，但上尉出去了。我们把犯人带到兵营，让他接受苏联法律的裁决。

我揪住犯人的衣领，将其扔进领导办公室，提出谋杀指控，同时出示刀和怀表。其中一位自称行政长官（这个词的俄文意思与英文完全对应）的领导走上前来。

他笑着问我：“你说这个男人杀了一个德国人？”我向他出示凶器。他走向一名同僚，从同僚的帽子上摘下红星帽徽，然后把帽徽别在谋杀者胸前，还亲吻了谋杀者的脸颊！这个杀害老人的杀人犯，戴着装饰品溜出房间，消失在数百座营房中。我再也没见过这个人。[25]

[illegible]

[illegible]A.G.Moon[illegible][26][illegible]

[illegible]8[illegible][27][illegible][28][illegible][29]

[illegible]

[illegible][30]

[illegible]8[illegible][31][illegible]11[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][32][illegible]“[illegible]”[33]

4.德国、奥地利以及意大利北部的流民营地
北
北　海
波罗的海
英国占领区
荷兰
苏联占领区
波兰
德　国
卢森堡
法国占领区
捷克斯洛伐克
美国占领区
法国
法国占领区
奥地利
瑞士
匈牙利
意大利
南斯拉夫
亚得里亚海
利古里亚海
0　100英里
0　100千米

[illegible]“[illegible]”[34][illegible][35][illegible][36][illegible]“[illegible]”[37][illegible]

“[illegible]”

[illegible]·[illegible]Marta Korwin[illegible]1945[illegible]4[illegible]Bocholt[illegible]

> 要抵消这种极端艰难甚至卑鄙可怕的时世，只能靠回忆过去的美好幻想，直到他们确信，等到被解放后，他们将会寻回战前那个幸福美丽的世界。他们过去所有的苦难都会被忘记，自由将会使他们重回那个毫无错误的世界……那是一个人人为善的天堂……到处都是美丽的家园。

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][38]

[illegible]1945[illegible]6[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”“[illegible]”“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][39]

[illegible]1945[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[40]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][41][illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]9[illegible]1500[illegible][42]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[43]

[illegible]

[illegible]United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration[illegible]UNRRA[illegible]1943[illegible]19

45[illegible]

1945[illegible]1947[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][44][illegible]1946[illegible]4[illegible]90%[illegible][45]

[illegible][46]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][47][illegible]

[illegible]18[illegible][48][illegible]

[illegible]UNRRA[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]You Never Really Rehabilitate Anyone[illegible][49]

[illegible]·[illegible]Bernard Montgomery[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]3/4[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][50]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Yvette Rubin[illegible]13[illegible]1942[illegible]

叔叔，你不是士兵。你是联合国善后救济署的职员。我知道他们。在被英国军队解救后，我跟他们生活了超过两个星期。他们很好。他们拯救了我的生命。我当时患上斑疹伤寒，是他们治愈了我。他们给了我食物，还给了我现在穿的这身衣服……我很爱他们。他们是我第一次碰见的好人。[51]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]” [52]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[12] Bernard Warach□UNRRA welfare officer□□□Wyman□Mark□*DPs□Europe's Displaced Persons□1945-1951*□Ithaca and London□Cornell University Press□1998□□p.38□

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[14] Mrs M.Heath□Welfare Officer of DP centre at Hanau□IWM Docs 98/25/1□manuscript diary□entry for 7 May 1945.

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[17] R.J.Hunting□IWM Docs 10519 P339□typescript memoir□p.368□Mosley□Leonard O.□*Report from Germany*□London□Gollancz□1945□□p.72.

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[19] Major A.J.Forrest□IWM Docs 91/13/1□typescript memoir□ch.17□p.6.

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[22] Mosley□Leonard O.□*Report from Germany*□London□Gollancz□1945□□pp.69-70.

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[26] Major A.G.Moon□IWM Docs 06/126/1□typescript memoir□p.34.

[27] TNA□PRO FO 945/595□General Montgomery telegram to Foreign Office□6 August 1945.

[28] Undated newspaper clipping kept by Katherine Morris□“Death warning to food rioters□U.S.may invoke military law”□IWM Docs□91/27/1.

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[30] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□Wyman□Mark□*DPs□Europe's Displaced Persons□1945-1951*□Ithaca and London□Cornell University Press□1998□□pp.38-60□□□1946□□□□□□□□Shephard□Ben□*The Long Road Home□The Aftermath of the Second World War*□London□Bodley Head□2010□□pp.267-99□

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[46] Wyman□Mark□*DPs□Europe’s Displaced Persons□1945-1951*□Ithaca and London□Cornell University Press□1998□□pp.117-21.

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[48] Kay Hulme□□□Shephard□Ben□*The Long Road Home□The Aftermath of the Second World War*□London□Bodley Head□2010□□pp.173□204.

[49] Kay Hulme□□□Shephard□Ben□*The Long Road Home*□*The Aftermath of the Second World War*□London□Bodley Head□2010□□p.143.

[50] Kay Hulme□□□Shephard□Ben□*The Long Road Home*□*The Aftermath of the Second World War*□London□Bodley Head□2010□□pp.152-4.□□□□Acheson□Dean□*Present at the Creation*□*My Years at the State Department*□New York□Norton□1969□□p.201□Hitchcock□William I.□*Liberation*□*The Bitter Road to Freedom*□*Europe 1944-1945*□London□Faber & Faber□2009□□p.216□

[51] Yvette Rubin story related by Jean Newman□□□Hitchcock□William I.□*Liberation*□*The Bitter Road to Freedom*□*Europe 1944-1945*□London□Faber & Faber□2009□□pp.248-9□

[52] □□Hitchcock□William I.□*Liberation*□*The Bitter Road to Freedom*□*Europe 1944-1945*□London□Faber & Faber□2009□□p.252□

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1929[illegible]*Third Geneva Convention*[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]1943[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]5[illegible]10[illegible]”[illegible]Katyn[illegible]“[illegible]”5[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]4.9[illegible]Elliot[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]5[illegible]5[illegible]
[illegible]”

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Vyacheslav Molotov[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][1]

[illegible][2][illegible]5[illegible][3][illegible]

1945[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1100[illegible]1/3[illegible]315.5[illegible]380[illegible]370[illegible]25[illegible][4]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Alfred August Jodl[illegible][5][illegible]5[illegible]8[illegible][6][illegible]1945[illegible]4[illegible]5[illegible]180[illegible][7]

[illegible]16[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Rheinwiesenlager[illegible]10[illegible]11.8[illegible]Sinzig[illegible]Remagen[illegible]13.4[illegible]Böhl[illegible]1[illegible]3[illegible][8][illegible][9]

[illegible][10][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Rheinberg[illegible]“[illegible]”

天热的时候，我就爬进地洞。我穿着大衣和靴子，并把便帽拉下来遮住耳朵；我的战地背包里装着汤匙和叉子，并把背包当枕头用。在一次暴风雨期间，地洞边的土墙倒在我身上。我的大衣和袜子都湿透了……我们在这种没有住所、没有毛毯、没有帐篷的日子里还要过多久呢？曾经，每名德军士兵都有遮风挡雨的住所。就算是狗，下雨

时也有个狗窝可以爬进去吧。我们唯一的愿望就是，在被关押了六个星期之后，能够有瓦片遮头。就算是原始人都比我们住得好。[11]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Heidesheim[illegible]14[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Werewolves[illegible][12]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]-[illegible]Bad Kreuznach[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][13]

[illegible]25[illegible]10[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]-[illegible]Bad Hersfeld[illegible]800[illegible]5[illegible]1[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][14]

[illegible]·[illegible]George Weiss[illegible]“[illegible]”

我们只好喝自己的尿。味道很难闻，但那又怎样？有些人趴在地上舔地面，就是为了湿润一下喉咙。当我们得到一点点饮用水时，我已经太过虚弱，跪在地上起不来了。我想，如果没有那点水，我可能已经死了。但是，莱茵河就在铁丝网外面。[15]

[illegible]-[illegible]5.6[illegible]Büderich[illegible]7.5[illegible]“[illegible]”[16]

[illegible]*Other Losses*[illegible]·[illegible]James Bacque[illegible]80[illegible][17][illegible]1/160[illegible]·[illegible]Erich Maschke[illegible]4537[illegible][18][illegible]5[illegible]6[illegible][19]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]300[illegible]1/3[illegible]8[illegible]5[illegible]2[illegible]1[illegible]140[illegible]90[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]·[illegible]Alexei Surkov[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][20][illegible]·[illegible]Konstantin Simonov[illegible][21][illegible]

……杀死一个德国人，尽快杀死德国人，只要看见德国人，就去杀死德国人。[22]

[illegible]·[illegible]Mikhail Sholokhov[illegible]·[illegible]Vasily Grossman[illegible]

□□□□□□·□□□□Ilya Ehrenburg□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
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德国人，非人类。于我而言，从此时起，“德国人”，如同诅咒。从此时起，“德国人”，伤我至深。我们不应振奋。我们应行杀戮。如果你一天未能杀死至少一个德国人，那么你就浪费了这一天……如果你不能用子弹杀死德国人，请你用刺刀杀死德国人。如果你的战线沉寂，如果你在等待战斗，请你杀死德国人……如果你已杀死一个德国人，请你再杀死一个德国人——人生最痛快之事，莫过于让德国人的积尸成山。[23]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1942□□□□□□□□

人类可以承受任何痛苦：瘟疫、饥饿、死亡。但人类受不了德国人……只要这些灰绿色爬虫还活着，我们就无法生存。今日，世上无书；今夜，天上无星；今天，只存一念：杀死德国人。杀光德国人，埋入地底下。[24]

□□□□□“□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[25]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[26]

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[illegible]1941[illegible][29][illegible][30]

[illegible]7[illegible][31][illegible]30.9[illegible][32][illegible]60[illegible][33]

[illegible]·[illegible]Zoltan Toth[illegible]1945[illegible]2[illegible]“[illegible]”[34]

[illegible]1/3[illegible]·[illegible]Hans Schuetz[illegible]“[illegible]”[35]

[illegible][36][illegible][37][illegible][38][illegible]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1946□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
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□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□……”[39]

□□□□□□□1947□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1950□□□□□“□□□”□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□[40]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1953□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1957□□□□□□□□□□□□□12□□·□·□□□□□Heinrich von Einsiedel□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□[41]

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□□□1989□□□□□·□□□“□□”□□□

□□[42]□□

[illegible]

1962[illegible]4[illegible]1/3[illegible]20[illegible]24178[illegible]

表1　战俘死亡情况[43]

关押国家	战俘人数	死亡人数	死亡率(%)
英国*	3635000	1254	<0.1
美国*	3097000	4537	0.1
法国*	937000	24178	2.6
苏联*	3060000	1094250	35.8
南斯拉夫	194000	80000	41.2
波兰	70000	5400	7.7
捷克斯洛伐克	25000	1250	5.0
比利时、荷兰、卢森堡	76000	675	0.9
合　计	11094000	1211544	10.9

注：带*号的数字包含欧洲大陆营地。

[illegible]1945[illegible]20[illegible][44]

[illegible][45][illegible]259[illegible]212[illegible][46]

[illegible]1945[illegible]80%[illegible][47][illegible][48]

[illegible]“[illegible]107[illegible]”[49][illegible]1944[illegible]·[illegible]Henry Morgenthau[illegible][50][illegible][51]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]

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□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

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[36] □□□□Becker□Hans□*Devil on My Shoulder*□trans. Kennedy McWhirter and Jeremy Potter□London□Four Square Books□1958□□pp.73-4□□□Toth□Zoltan□*Prisoner of the Soviet Union*□trans. George Unwin□Woking□Gresham Press□1978□□p.7□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Kurt W.Böhme in Maschke□Erich□ed.□□*Zur Geschichte der deutschen Kriegsgefangenen des zweiten Weltkrieges*□15 vols.□Bielefeld□Ernst & Werner Gieseking□1962-74□□vol.X□*In amerikanischer Hand*□pp.218-19□

[37] Beevor□Antony□*Stalingrad*□London□Viking□1998□□pp.408-9□Becker□Hans□*Devil on My Shoulder*□trans. Kennedy McWhirter and Jeremy Potter□London□Four Square Books□1958□□pp.77-81.

[38] Becker□Hans□*Devil on My Shoulder*□trans. Kennedy McWhirter and Jeremy Potter□London□Four Square Books□1958□□p.87□Toth□Zoltan□*Prisoner of the Soviet Union*□trans. George Unwin□Woking□Gresham Press□1978□□p.48.

[39] Toth□Zoltan□*Prisoner of the Soviet Union*□trans. George Unwin□Woking□Gresham Press□1978□□p.48.

[40] Becker□Hans□*Devil on My Shoulder*□trans. Kennedy McWhirter and Jeremy Potter□London□Four Square Books□1958□□p.184.

[41] Von Einsiedel□Count Heinrich□*The Shadow of Stalingrad□Being the Diary of a Temptation*□London□Alan Wingate□1953□□p.206.

[42] □□Bischof□Günter and Stephen E. Ambrose□eds.□□*Eisenhower and the German POWs□Facts against Falsehood*□Baton Rouge and London□Louisiana State University Press□1992□□*passim*□

[43] □□□Werner Ratza□"Anzahl und Arbeitsleistungen der deutschen Kriegsgefangenen"□in Maschke□Erich□ed.□□*Zur Geschichte der deutschen Kriegsgefangenen des zweiten Weltkrieges*□15 vols.□Bielefeld□Ernst & Werner Gieseking□1962-74□□vol.XV□*Zusammenfassung*□pp.207□224-26□20□□90□□□Rüdiger Overmans□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□O

vermans□Rüdiger□‘German Historiography□the War Losses□and the Prisoners of War’□in Günter Bischof and Stephen E. Ambrose□eds.□□*Eisenhower and the German POWs□Facts against Falsehood*□Baton Rouge and London□Louisiana State University Press□1992□□pp.146-63□

[44] Overmans□Rüdiger□‘German Historiography□the War Losses□and the Prisoners of War’□in Günter Bischof and Stephen E. Ambrose□eds.□□*Eisenhower and the German POWs□Facts against Falsehood*□Baton Rouge and London□Louisiana State University Press□1992□□p.152.

[45] Overmans□Rüdiger□‘German Historiography□the War Losses□and the Prisoners of War’□in Günter Bischof and Stephen E. Ambrose□eds.□□*Eisenhower and the German POWs□Facts against Falsehood*□Baton Rouge and London□Louisiana State University Press□1992□□p.148.

[46] Werner Ratza□“Anzahl und Arbeitsleistungen der deutschen Kriegsgefangenen”□in Maschke□Erich□ed.□□*Zur Geschichte der deutschen Kriegsgefangenen des zweiten Weltkrieges*□15 vols.□Bielefeld□Ernst & Werner Gieseking□1962-74□□vol.XV□*Zusammenfassung*□pp.194-5.

[47] Werner Ratza□“Anzahl und Arbeitsleistungen der deutschen Kriegsgefangenen”□in Maschke□Erich□ed.□□*Zur Ges

chichte der deutschen Kriegsgefangenen des zweiten Weltkrieges□15 vols.□Bielefeld□Ernst & Werner Gieseking□1962-74□□vol.XV□*Zusammenfassung*□pp.194-7.

[48] Brian Loring Villa□“The Diplomatic and Political Context of the POW Camps Tragedy”□in Bischof□Günter and Stephen E. Ambrose□eds.□□*Eisenhower and the German POWs□Facts against Falsehood*□Baton Rouge and London□Louisiana State University Press□1992□□pp.67-8.

[49] Roosevelt□□□Beschloss□Michael□*The Conquerors□Roosevelt□Truman and the Destruction of Hitler’s Germany□1941-1945*□New York□Simon & Schuster□2002□□p.28□

[50] □□□□□□□□□Morgenthau□Henry□Jr□*Germany Is Our Problem*□New York and London□Harper and Bros□1945□□prelim.pages□□□□□□□□□□□□Beschloss□Michael□*The Conquerors□Roosevelt□Truman and the Destruction of Hitler’s Germany□1941-1945*□New York□Simon & Schuster□2002□□pp.125-31□Rees□Laurence□*World War Two behind Closed Doors*□London□BBC Books□2008□□pp.302-8□

[51] International Committee of the Red Cross□*Report of the International Committee of the Red Cross on its activities during the Second World War□September 1□1939-June 30□*

1947□□vol. I□*General Activities*□Geneva□ICRC□1948□□pp.333-5.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible][1][illegible]1938[illegible]

[illegible][2][illegible][3][illegible][4]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”

许多捷克年轻人，手里拿着左轮手枪，要求查看路人的证件。我躲进一间房子的门廊；楼上传来让人头发倒竖的尖叫，然后传来一声枪响，然后就是一片死寂。一个长着猛禽面孔的年轻人走下楼梯，手

脚麻利地把什么东西塞进左边的裤兜。一个老人，看得出是看门人，高声叫道：“那个德国婊子，你让她得到应得的下场了吗？这就对了，他们都得死！”

[illegible][5]

1945[illegible]5[illegible]5[illegible]20[illegible][6][illegible]
[illegible]Břevnov[illegible]300[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]3/4[illegible][7][illegible]

[illegible]Strahov[illegible]·[illegible]Kurt Schmidt[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]”

在营地里，我们被迫在大庭广众之下围观处决，他们以此提醒我们死亡会随时降临。任何在营地里发现的党卫队员，都会被公开处决。有一天，六名年轻人被殴打到动弹不得，他们被水泼醒（德裔妇女被迫去打水），然后继续被殴打到断气为止。血肉模糊的尸体被故意展示在厕所旁边，长达数天之久。一名14岁的男孩与父母一起被枪决，原因据说是他曾经试图用剪刀刺伤一名革命卫兵。这只是每天发生的处决案例的个别例子，而处决方式通常是枪决。[8]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[9]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□15□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

如果男人试图保护自己的妻子，他很可能会招来杀身之祸。俄国人以及捷克人，甚至懒得把女人带走，他们就在孩子和营地所有犯人面前强奸女人，所作所为如同禽兽。在夜里，人们能够听见这些可怜女人的呻吟和呜咽。到处都在执行枪决，子弹就在我们头上擦过。人流密集，噪声不断。黑暗的夜空被探照灯和俄国人的枪火划破。我们的神经日夜不宁，我们仿佛坠入地狱。[10]

□□

街头暴民的行径（比监狱看守）还要恶劣。尤其是年长妇女，更加擅长用铁杆、铁棍、狗带等工具当武器。我们有些人惨遭毒打，甚至倒地不起。其他人，包括我自己，不得不到桥上的街垒藏身。捷克警察在我们的工地外围警戒，但暴民突破警戒线，我们再次惨遭虐待。我有些被打的同伴拼死跳入莫尔道河[11]，他们马上朝河里开枪……其中一个捷克人拿着一把大剪刀，挨个儿剪我们的头发。另一个捷克人往我们头上泼红油。我被打落四颗牙齿。他们强行从我们肿

胀的手指上摘下戒指。其他人则看中我们的鞋子和衣服，我们最后几乎被剥个精光，即使是内衣也被剥去。男孩和男人踢我们的肚子。我完全绝望，我也试图跳进河里。但我被拖回来，再次受到毒打。[12]

[illegible]Pankrác[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][13][illegible]1946[illegible]5558[illegible][14]

[illegible]Ústí nad Labem[illegible]7[illegible]100[illegible]10[illegible]20[illegible][15][illegible]Postoloprty[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]800[illegible]763[illegible][16][illegible]Taus[illegible]120[illegible][17][illegible]Přerov[illegible]Horní Moštěnice[illegible]·[illegible]Karol Pazúr[illegible]71[illegible]120[illegible]74[illegible]“[illegible]”[18]

[illegible][19][illegible]·[illegible]Edvard Beneš[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][20] [illegible]·[illegible]Prokop Drtina[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][21] [illegible]1945[illegible]7[illegible]·[illegible]Antonín Zápotocký[illegible]*Práce*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][22] [illegible]·[illegible]Zdeněk Nejedlý[illegible]·[illegible]Josef David[illegible]·[illegible]Jaroslav Stránský[illegible][23]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1945[illegible]5[illegible]9[illegible]10[illegible]28[illegible][24]

[illegible]18889[illegible]5596[illegible][25] [illegible]25[illegible][26] [illegible][27] [illegible]·[illegible]Tomáš Staněk[illegible]2.4[illegible]4[illegible][28] [illegible]

[illegible]96356[illegible]2[illegible]1945[illegible]8[illegible]

[illegible]90%[illegible]1[illegible]14[illegible][29]

[illegible]1948[illegible]

[illegible]1948[illegible]11[illegible][30][illegible]1000[illegible][31]

[illegible]“N”[illegible]Němec[illegible][32][illegible][33][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[34]

[illegible]

布拉格第12区本地民族委员会常委会，已经决定解决德国人、匈牙利人以及叛国者问题，措施如下：

1. “德国人”这个单词及其所有变体，只能以小写字母书写，“匈牙利人”这个单词亦然。

2. 今后将对德国人、匈牙利人以及叛国者实施以下规定——

a. 所有年满14岁且被认定为德国人、匈牙利人、叛国者或通敌者的人，将要在左臂佩戴明显的白色帆布标识，尺寸为长宽各10厘米，上面涂抹纳粹万字符以及个人编号。佩戴此标志的人，将不得领取定量口粮卡。措施同样适用于登记证书第6栏（民族栏）标注为“D”[35]的人。

b. 佩戴纳粹万字符标识的人，平时不得搭乘有轨电车，只有在上班路上才可搭乘，搭乘时必须站在后车斗，而且不得使用座位。

c. 佩戴纳粹万字符标识的人，不得走人行道，只能走机动车道。

d. 佩戴纳粹万字符标识的人，不得购买、订阅、阅读报纸，该措施同样适用于上述人等的房客。

e. 佩戴纳粹万字符标识的人，不得逗留或穿越公共花园、公园、森林，不得逗留或光顾理发店、餐厅、各种娱乐场所，尤其是戏院、影院、讲堂等地；同样，他们不得光顾洗衣店、干洗店、油印店。他们光顾商店的时间，限定为上午11点至下午1点、下午3点至下午4点。无视此时间限制的买卖双方将同时受到处罚。他们到所有政府部门办事的时间，限定为早上7点半至早上8点半。

f. 佩戴纳粹万字符标识的人，晚上8点后不得离家。

g. 所有年满14岁且登记证书标注为“D”的人，务必在两天内向布拉格第12区本地民族委员会管制和登记委员会报到，以制作证章和登记入册。那些未能在规定时间内报到的人，以及未佩戴上述证章的人，将会受到严厉惩罚，惩罚措施参照纳粹当局曾经采取的做法。惩罚措施同样适用于那些帮助和结交上述人等的人，且不论其方式和目的为何。

h. 所有登记证书标注为“D”的人，务必马上现身，且不论其是否曾经收到上述调查委员会通知，且不论其是否曾经收到允许自由行动的临时证书。与此同时，他们（必须）递交所有财产清单，同时上交所有贵重物品，接收部门为第12区民族委员会民族财产信托公司，如有银行存折、银行账户以及其他储蓄，亦一并提交；他们必须报告，是否持有任何形式的资本利益，同时提交合法证据；而且，他们必须交出所有无线电设备及其证书。任何财产转移将被禁止并被宣布无效；德国人不得享用烟草配给，不得在公共场合或工作场所抽烟。

市民们、工人们、苦力们！按照政府规定的原则，我们将会在本区内执行清洗、建立秩序。此举将让你我的维诺赫拉德成为民族的、我们的市区。

上述措施只是临时措施，直至所有上述人等被驱逐出境后即行终止。

1945年6月15日发布于布拉格

布拉格第12区本地民族委员会

主席奥德里奇·哈拉斯

1945□6□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[36]

□□□□□□□·□□·□□□□Hans Guenther Adler□□

在他们当中，有些人在占领期间无疑是有罪的，但其他大多数人只是少年儿童，他们之所以被关押，仅仅因为他们是德意志人。仅仅因为他们是德意志人……？这句让人毛骨悚然的话听起来太熟悉了；

只不过是把“犹太人”换成“德意志人”。德意志人被迫穿上打着纳粹万字符补丁的衣服。人们饥饿难耐、饱受虐待，他们的待遇不会比德国集中营好多少。唯一的差异是，在这里，通过劳动实施的复仇，并非建基于由党卫队运营的大规模灭绝系统。[37]

□□

□□1945□□□“□□□”“□□□”“□□□”□□□“□□□□5%”□□□□□□□□[38]

□□20□□□□□□□

□□□

□“□□□”

1945□2□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Świętochłowice□□□□□□□□Zgoda□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□UBP□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□[39]□□□

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][40] [illegible][41] [illegible]·[illegible]Salomon Morel[illegible]“[illegible]”[42] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][43] [illegible]“[illegible]”[44] [illegible][45]

[illegible]·[illegible]*Horst Wessel Song*[illegible][46] [illegible][47] [illegible][48] [illegible]7[illegible][49] [illegible]11[illegible][50]

[illegible]1400[illegible]7[illegible]3500[illegible]5048[illegible]66[illegible][51] [illegible]7[illegible][52] 2/3[illegible][53] [illegible]7[illegible]20[illegible][54]

[illegible]·[illegible]Gerhard Gruschka[illegible]14[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Eric van Calsteren[illegible]

埃里克……突然挣脱民兵包围，爬到一张木板床上。四个民兵从后面围住他，把他拖回牢房中间。他们明显被这种反抗激怒了。一个民兵从牢房的角落里抽出一根铁棍，这根铁棍平常用来搬运我们的食物桶。当桶里装满食物时，用铁棍穿过桶边两个手柄，会比较容易搬运。然而，此时铁棍成为折磨人的工具。暴怒的民兵用铁棍敲打埃里克的双腿。当埃里克倒地时，他们拳打脚踢，然后把埃里克抓起来，再用铁棍殴打。在绝望中，埃里克只好求饶："枪毙我吧，枪毙我吧！"但他们打得更起劲。这是兹哥达最恐怖的夜晚之一。我们都相信，我们的狱友这次必死无疑。[55]

[illegible]14[illegible]

[illegible]"[illegible]"[56][illegible]·[illegible]Günther Wollny[illegible]"[illegible]"[57]

[illegible]·[illegible]Karol Zaks[illegible][58][illegible]1945[illegible]11[illegible]

[illegible]6000[illegible]1855[illegible]
1/3[illegible][59]

[illegible]Trzebica[illegible][60][illegible]Gliwice[illegible][61][illegible]Kłodzko[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][62]

[illegible]Potulice[illegible][63][illegible][64]

[illegible]Łambinowice[illegible]Lamsdorf[illegible]1945[illegible]7[illegible]20[illegible]·[illegible]Czesław Gęborski[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][65]

[illegible]40[illegible]“[illegible]15[illegible]

[illegible]15[illegible]”[66]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Lubliniec[illegible]·[illegible]Johann Fuhrmann[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[67]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Grüben[illegible]

由于尸体暴露在野外，妇女和女孩被迫面朝下方捡拾这些黏黏糊糊的、不堪入目的尸体。波兰民兵用枪托击打受害者的脸，让她们埋首在腐尸堆里。通过这种方式，人体残骸被灌进她们的口鼻。64位妇女和女孩死于波兰人这种“英雄史诗般的”行为。[68]

[illegible][69][illegible][70]

[illegible][71][illegible][72][illegible][73]

[illegible][74][illegible]“[illegible]”[75][illegible]60%[illegible][76]

[illegible]

> 在营地里，我失去了我10岁的女儿、我的母亲、我的姐姐、我的哥哥、两个嫂子、一个姐夫。在我临近死亡的时候，我带着儿子和另一个女儿，设法爬上了开往西德的列车。我们在营地里待了14个星期。我们村里过半的人都死了……我们满怀渴望，终于等到我的丈夫。1946年7月，我们曾经收到噩耗，说他也死在地狱营，我们分别后真是经历太多事情了……[77]

[illegible]

[illegible]

1945[illegible]10[illegible][78]

1965[illegible]·[illegible]1945[illegible][79]

[illegible]9[illegible][80][illegible]·[illegible]Heinz Esser[illegible]581[illegible]132[illegible][81][illegible]9[illegible]500[illegible]2000[illegible]48[illegible][82]

[illegible]·[illegible]1945[illegible]1946[illegible]6488[illegible]4000[illegible][83][illegible]6000[illegible]1500[illegible]1462[illegible][84]

[illegible]9[illegible]

[illegible]1974[illegible]20[illegible]Mysłowice[illegible]Toszek[illegible]20%[illegible]50%[illegible]4[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]6[illegible]”[illegible][85][illegible]6140[illegible][86][illegible]10[illegible]

[illegible]20[illegible]

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[illegible]·[illegible]1956[illegible]1989[illegible]2001[illegible]Opole[illegible]2005[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible][89]

[illegible]20[illegible]40[illegible]

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[3] Schieder[illegible]Theodor[illegible]ed.[illegible]*Documents on the Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern-Central Europe*[illegible]trans. G. H. de Sausmarez[illegible]4 vols.[illegible]Bonn[illegible]Federal Ministry for Expellees[illegible]Refugees and War Victims[illegible]1958-60[illegible]vol.IV[illegible]*Czechoslovakia*[illegible]pp.390-91.

[4] Schieder□Theodor□ed.□□*Documents on the Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern-Central Europe*□trans. G. H. de Sausmarez□4 vols.□Bonn□Federal Ministry for Expellees□Refugees and War Victims□1958-60□□vol.IV□*Czechoslovakia*□p.57□and Staněk□Tomáš□*Verfolgung 1945□Die Stellung der Deutschen in Böhmen□Mähren und Schiesien*□Vienna□Cologne and Weimar□Böhlau Verlag□2002□□p.94.

[5] Testimony of “F.B.”□doc.24□in Schieder□Theodor□ed.□□*Documents on the Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern-Central Europe*□trans. G. H. de Sausmarez□4 vols.□Bonn□Federal Ministry for Expellees□Refugees and War Victims□1958-60□□vol.IV□*Czechoslovakia*□p.366.

[6] □□Schieder□Theodor□ed.□□*Documents on the Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern-Central Europe*□trans. G. H. de Sausmarez□4 vols.□Bonn□Federal Ministry for Expellees□Refugees and War Victims□1958-60□□vol.IV□*Czechoslovakia*□p.49□□□Staněk□Tomáš□*Verfolgung 1945□Die Stellung der Deutschen in Böhmen□Mähren und Schiesien*□Vienna□Cologne and Weimar□Böhlau Verlag□2002□□pp.89-90□

[7] Staněk□Tomáš□*Verfolgung 1945□Die Stellung der Deutschen in Böhmen□Mähren und Schiesien*□Vienna□Cologne and Weimar□Böhlau Verlag□2002□□p.97.

[8] Kurt Schmidt□□□Report 29 in Schieder□Theodor□ed.□□*Documents on the Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern-Central Europe*□trans. G. H. de Sausmarez□4 vols.□Bonn□Federal Ministry for Expellees□Refugees and War Victims□1958-60□□vol.IV□*Czechoslovakia*□p.404□□□□□for comparison p.59□□□Staněk□Tomáš□*Verfolgung 1945□Die Stellung der Deutschen in Böhmen□Mähren und Schiesien*□Vienna□Cologne and Weimar□Böhlau Verlag□2002□□pp.94-5□

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[10] Kurt Schmidt□□□Report 29 in Schieder□Theodor□ed.□□*Documents on the Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern-Central Europe*□trans. G. H. de Sausmarez□4 vols.□Bonn□Federal Ministry for Expellees□Refugees and War Victims□1958-60□□vol.IV□*Czechoslovakia*□pp.404-5□

[11] □□□□□□□□□□□——□□□

[12] Report no.26 by "A.L."□□□Report 29 in Schieder□Theodor□ed.□□*Documents on the Expulsion of the Germans fro*

m Eastern-Central Europe□trans. G. H. de Sausmarez□4 vols.□Bonn□Federal Ministry for Expellees□Refugees and War Victims□1958-60□□vol.IV□*Czechoslovakia*□p.389□

[13] Staněk□Tomáš□*Retribuční vězni v českých zemích 1945-1955*□Opava□Slezský ústav Slezského zemského muzea□2002□□p.39.

[14] Staněk□Tomáš□*Verfolgung 1945□Die Stellung der Deutschen in Böhmen□Mähren und Schiesien*□Vienna□Cologne and Weimar□Böhlau Verlag□2002□□p.210□Kucera□Jaroslav□*Odsunové ztráty sudetoněmeckého obyvatelstva*□Prague□Federalni ministerstvo zahranicnich veci□1992□□p.24□Naimark□Norman□*Fires of Hatred*□Cambridge□MA□Harvard University Press□2002□□p.118.

[15] □□Staněk□Tomáš□*Verfolgung 1945□Die Stellung der Deutschen in Böhmen□Mähren und Schiesien*□Vienna□Cologne and Weimar□Böhlau Verlag□2002□□p.174□□□Pustejovsky□Otfrid□*Die Konferenz von Potsdam und das Massaker von Aussig am 31 Juli 1945*□Munich□Herbig□2001□□p.561□□□□□□□□□□testimonies in Pustejovsky□Otfrid□*Die Konferenz von Potsdam und das Massaker von Aussig am 31 Juli 1945*□Munich□Herbig□2001□□pp.315□338-9□□□Schieder□Theodor□ed.□□*Documents on the Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern-Central Europe*□trans. G. H. de Sausmarez□4 vols.□Bonn□

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[16] Staněk□Tomáš□*Verfolgung 1945□Die Stellung der Deutschen in Böhmen□Mähren und Schiesien*□Vienna□Cologne and Weimar□Böhlau Verlag□2002□□pp.143-8.

[17] Staněk□Tomáš□*Verfolgung 1945□Die Stellung der Deutschen in Böhmen□Mähren und Schiesien*□Vienna□Cologne and Weimar□Böhlau Verlag□2002□□pp.148-9.

[18] Staněk□Tomáš□*Verfolgung 1945□Die Stellung der Deutschen in Böhmen□Mähren und Schiesien*□Vienna□Cologne and Weimar□Böhlau Verlag□2002□□pp.155-6.

[19] □□□□Beneš's speech in Anon.□*Komu sluší omluva□Češi a sudetští němci□Dokumenti□fakta□svědectví□*□p.90.

[20] Beneš□Edvard□*Speech delivered by President E. Beneš on the Old Town Square□Prague□on His Return to Czechoslovakia□May 16th 1945*□Prague□Orbis□1945□repr. Prague□Erika□1992□□p.5.

[21] □□Drtina's postwar pamphlet *My a Němcí*□"We and the Germans"□□pp.5□13□□□Schieder□Theodor□ed.□□*Documents on the Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern-Central Europe*□trans. G. H. de Sausmarez□4 vols.□Bonn□Federal Ministry for Expellees□Refugees and War Victims□1958-60□□vo

l.IV□*Czechoslovakia*□pp.66-7 fn.13□Staněk□Tomáš□*Odsun Němců z Československa 1945-1947*□Prague□Academia/Naše vojsko□1991□□p.59□

[22] Article in *Práce*□14 July 1945□□□Petr Benařík□“Retribuční soudnictví a česky tisk”□in Vědecká Konference ‘Národní podoby antisemitismu’□*Retribuce v ČSR a národní podoby antisemitismu*□Prague□Institute of Contemporary History□2002□□p.23□

[23] Staněk□Tomáš□*Odsun Němců z Československa 1945-1947*□Prague□Academia/Naše vojsko□1991□□p.59□

[24] Law reproduced as Annex 19 in Schieder□Theodor□ed.□□*Documents on the Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern-Central Europe*□trans. G. H. de Sausmarez□4 vols.□Bonn□Federal Ministry for Expellees□Refugees and War Victims□1958-60□□vol.IV□*Czechoslovakia*□p.276.

[25] *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*□4 April 1988.□□□□Sayer□Derek□*The Coasts of Bohemia□A Czech History*□Princeton University Press□1998□□p.243□

[26] □□□□the website of the Zentrum gegen Vertreibungen□www.z-g-v.de/english/aktuelles/□id=56#sudeten□accessed 3 October 2011□Schieder□Theodor□ed.□□*Documents on the Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern-Central Europe*□tr

ans. G. H. de Sausmarez□4 vols.□Bonn□Federal Ministry for Expellees□Refugees and War Victims□1958-60□□vol.IV□*Czechoslovakia*□p.128□□□MacDonogh□Giles□*After the Reich*□London□John Murray□2007□□p.159□Staněk□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Staněk□Tomáš□*Verfolgung 1945□Die Stellung der Deutschen in Böhmen□Mähren und Schiesien*□Vienna□Cologne and Weimar□Böhlau Verlag□2002□□pp.208-12□

[27] □□□□Nováček’s description of the “voluntary” deportation of Germans from Brno□p.31.

[28] Staněk□Tomáš□*Verfolgung 1945□Die Stellung der Deutschen in Böhmen□Mähren und Schiesien*□Vienna□Cologne and Weimar□Böhlau Verlag□2002□□pp.208-12.

[29] Staněk□Tomáš□*Retribuční vězni v českých zemích 1945-1955*□Opava□Slezský ústav Slezského zemského muzea□2002□□pp.24-5.□□□□□□6093□□□14□□Staněk□□□□□□□□□□□□□

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[31] International Committee of the Red Cross□*Report of the International Committee of the Red Cross on its activities during the Second World War□September 1□1939-June 30□*

1947□□vol. I□*General Activities*□Geneva□ICRC□1948□□pp.334□336□676□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Staněk□Tomáš□*Retribuční vězni v českých zemích 1945-1955*□Opava□Slezský ústav Slezského zemského muzea□2002□□pp.28□37□

[32] Schieder□Theodor□ed.□□*Documents on the Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern-Central Europe*□trans. G. H. de Sausmarez□4 vols.□Bonn□Federal Ministry for Expellees□Refugees and War Victims□1958-60□□vol.IV□*Czechoslovakia*□p.75□and eyewitness reports 27 and 59 on pp.392□441.

[33] Schieder□Theodor□ed.□□*Documents on the Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern-Central Europe*□trans. G. H. de Sausmarez□4 vols.□Bonn□Federal Ministry for Expellees□Refugees and War Victims□1958-60□□vol.IV□*Czechoslovakia*□pp.75□88□and eyewitness report of Dr Hermann Ebert□Report 66□p.450.

[34] Schieder□Theodor□ed.□□*Documents on the Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern-Central Europe*□trans. G. H. de Sausmarez□4 vols.□Bonn□Federal Ministry for Expellees□Refugees and War Victims□1958-60□□vol.IV□*Czechoslovakia*□Report 24□pp.373-4.

[35] Deutsche□□□□□□“□□□”□——□□□

[36] Adler□Hans Guenther□*Theresienstadt 1941-1945□das Antlitz einer Zwangsgemeinschaft-Geschichte□Soziologie□Psychologie*□Tübingen□Mohr□1955□□p.214.

[37] Kaps□Johannes□*The Tragedie of Silesia 1945-46*□Munich□Christ Unterwegs□1952□□Reports 193 and 195□p.535.

[38] Poster reproduced from Anon.□*Tragedy of a People□Racialism in Czecho-Slovakia*□New York□American Friends of Democratic Sudetens□1946□□p.2.

[39] □□□□□□“□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□Dziurok□Adam□ed.□□*Obóz Pracy w Świętochłowicach w 1945 roku*□Warsaw□Instytut Pamięci Narodowej□2003□□p.17□

[40] Gruschka□Gerhard□*Zgoda□Ein Ort des Schreckens*□Neureid□Ars Una□1996□□p.42.

[41] Testimony by Jadwiga Sonsala□doc.35 in Dziurok□Adam□ed.□□*Obóz Pracy w Świętochłowicach w 1945 roku*□Warsaw□Instytut Pamięci Narodowej□2003□□p.115□□□□□Henryk Grus testimony□doc.38 Testimony by Jadwiga Sonsala□doc.35 in Dziurok□Adam□ed.□□*Obóz Pracy w Świętochłowicach w 1945 roku*□Warsaw□Instytut Pamięci Narodowej□2003□□p.120□

[42] Testimony of Henryk Wowra□doc.47 in Dziurok□Adam□ed.□□*Obóz Pracy w Świętochłowicach w 1945 roku*□Warsa

w□Instytut Pamięci Narodowej□2003□□p.146.

[43] According to Gruschka□Gerhard□*Zgoda□Ein Ort des Schreckens*□Neureid□Ars Una□1996□□p.47.□□□□Dziurok□Adam□ed.□□*Obóz Pracy w Świętochłowicach w 1945 roku*□Warsaw□Instytut Pamięci Narodowej□2003□□p.146□

[44] Arbeit macht frei□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□

[45] According to Edmund Kamiński□□□Dziurok□Adam□ed.□□*Obóz Pracy w Świętochłowicach w 1945 roku*□Warsaw□Instytut Pamięci Narodowej□2003□□p.133□

[46] Testimony of Jadwiga Sonsala□doc.35 in Dziurok□Adam□ed.□□*Obóz Pracy w Świętochłowicach w 1945 roku*□Warsaw□Instytut Pamięci Narodowej□2003□□p.115□Gruschka□Gerhard□*Zgoda□Ein Ort des Schreckens*□Neureid□Ars Una□1996□□pp.48-9□56.

[47] Gruschka□Gerhard□*Zgoda□Ein Ort des Schreckens*□Neureid□Ars Una□1996□□pp.55-6□and Nikodem Osmańczyk testimony□doc.39 in Dziurok□Adam□ed.□□*Obóz Pracy w Świętochłowicach w 1945 roku*□Warsaw□Instytut Pamięci Narodowej□2003□□pp.123-4.

[48] □□Henryk Grus testimony□doc.38 in Dziurok□Adam□ed.□□*Obóz Pracy w Świętochłowicach w 1945 roku*□Warsaw□Instytut Pamięci Narodowej□2003□□pp.121-2□□□Gruschk

a□Gerhard□*Zgoda□Ein Ort des Schreckens*□Neureid□Ars Una□1996□□p.50□

[49] Dziurok□Adam□ed.□□*Obóz Pracy w Świętochłowicach w 1945 roku*□Warsaw□Instytut Pamięci Narodowej□2003□□p.27□and testimony by Józef Burda□doc.42□pp.130-31.

[50] Testimony of Henryk Wowra□doc.47 in Dziurok□Adam□ed.□□*Obóz Pracy w Świętochłowicach w 1945 roku*□Warsaw□Instytut Pamięci Narodowej□2003□□pp.25-6.

[51] Doc.7□Świętochłowice statistical report□1 August 1945□doc.7 in Dziurok□Adam□ed.□□*Obóz Pracy w Świętochłowicach w 1945 roku*□Warsaw□Instytut Pamięci Narodowej□2003□□pp.46-7.

[52] Dziurok□Adam□ed.□□*Obóz Pracy w Świętochłowicach w 1945 roku*□Warsaw□Instytut Pamięci Narodowej□2003□□pp.21-5.

[53] Doc.6 in Dziurok□Adam□ed.□□*Obóz Pracy w Świętochłowicach w 1945 roku*□Warsaw□Instytut Pamięci Narodowej□2003□□p.45.

[54] Gerhard Gruschka testimony□doc.46 in Dziurok□Adam□ed.□□*Obóz Pracy w Świętochłowicach w 1945 roku*□Warsaw□Instytut Pamięci Narodowej□2003□□p.144.

[55] Gruschka□Gerhard□*Zgoda□Ein Ort des Schreckens*□Neureid□Ars Una□1996□□p.59.

[56] Statement by R.W.F.Bashford□TNA□PRO FO 371/46990.

[57] Testimony by Günther Wollny□German Federal Archives Ost-Dok 2/236C/297□□□Sack□John□*An Eye for an Eye□The Untold Story of Jewish Revenge against Germans in 1945*□New York□Basic Books□1993□□pp.109□204□

[58] □□docs.9 and 10 in Dziurok□Adam□ed.□□*Obóz Pracy w Świętochłowicach w 1945 roku*□Warsaw□Instytut Pamięci Narodowej□2003□□pp.49-50□

[59] Doc.21 in Dziurok□Adam□ed.□□*Obóz Pracy w Świętochłowicach w 1945 roku*□Warsaw□Instytut Pamięci Narodowej□2003□□p.78□□□□□pp.17□31□

[60] Kaps□Johannes□*The Tragedie of Silesia 1945-46*□Munich□Christ Unterwegs□1952□□Report 195□pp.537-8.

[61] Sack□John□*An Eye for an Eye□The Untold Story of Jewish Revenge against Germans in 1945*□New York□Basic Books□1993□□p.67.

[62] Kaps□Johannes□*The Tragedie of Silesia 1945-46*□Munich□Christ Unterwegs□1952□□Report 192□p.532.

[63] According to eyewitness report by “P.L.” of Łódź□in Schieder□Theodor□ed.□□*Documents on the Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern-Central Europe*□trans. G. H. de Sausmarez□4 vols.□Bonn□Federal Ministry for Expellees□Refugees and War Victims□1958-60□□vol.I□*Oder-Neisse*□Report 268□pp.270-78.

[64] Testimonies by Christa-Helene Gause von Shirach and E.Zindler in Bundesarchiv□Ost-Dok 2/148/103 and Ost-Dok 2/64/18□□□Sack□John□*An Eye for an Eye□The Untold Story of Jewish Revenge against Germans in 1945*□New York□Basic Books□1993□□p.110□

[65] Anonymous testimony□□□Esser□Heinz□*Die Hölle von Lamsdorf□Dokumentation über ein polnisches Vernichtungslager*□Bonn□Landsmannschaft der Oberschiesier e.V.□1969□□p.40□

[66] Anonymous testimony□□□Esser□Heinz□*Die Hölle von Lamsdorf□Dokumentation über ein polnisches Vernichtungslager*□Bonn□Landsmannschaft der Oberschiesier e.V.□1969□□p.41□

[67] Anonymous testimony□□□Esser□Heinz□*Die Hölle von Lamsdorf□Dokumentation über ein polnisches Vernichtung*

slager□Bonn□Landsmannschaft der Oberschiesier e.V.□1969□□p.42□

[68] Anonymous testimony□□□Esser□Heinz□*Die Hölle von Lamsdorf□Dokumentation über ein polnisches Vernichtungslager*□Bonn□Landsmannschaft der Oberschiesier e.V.□1969□□pp.43-5□

[69] Edmund Nowak□“Obóz Pracy w Łambinwicach□1945-1946□”□in Nowak□Edmund□ed.□□*Obozy w Lamsdorf/Łambinowicach□1870-1946□*□Opole□Centralne Muzeum Jeńców Wojennych w Łambinowicach-Opolu□2006□□pp.277-8.

[70] Anonymous testimony□□□Esser□Heinz□*Die Hölle von Lamsdorf□Dokumentation über ein polnisches Vernichtungslager*□Bonn□Landsmannschaft der Oberschiesier e.V.□1969□□p.38□

[71] Anonymous testimony□□□Esser□Heinz□*Die Hölle von Lamsdorf□Dokumentation über ein polnisches Vernichtungslager*□Bonn□Landsmannschaft der Oberschiesier e.V.□1969□□pp.35□37□

[72] Anonymous testimony□□□Esser□Heinz□*Die Hölle von Lamsdorf□Dokumentation über ein polnisches Vernichtungslager*□Bonn□Landsmannschaft der Oberschiesier e.V.□1969□□p.46□

[73] Anonymous testimony□□□Esser□Heinz□*Die Hölle von Lamsdorf□Dokumentation über ein polnisches Vernichtungslager*□Bonn□Landsmannschaft der Oberschiesier e.V.□1969□□p.40□

[74] Anonymous testimony□□□Esser□Heinz□*Die Hölle von Lamsdorf□Dokumentation über ein polnisches Vernichtungslager*□Bonn□Landsmannschaft der Oberschiesier e.V.□1969□□p.39□

[75] Anonymous testimony□□□Esser□Heinz□*Die Hölle von Lamsdorf□Dokumentation über ein polnisches Vernichtungslager*□Bonn□Landsmannschaft der Oberschiesier e.V.□1969□□p.33□

[76] Nowak□Edmund□ed.□□*Obozy w Lamsdorf/Łambinowicach□1870-1946□*□Opole□Centralne Muzeum Jeńców Wojennych w Łambinowicach-Opolu□2006□□p.284.

[77] Anonymous testimony□□□Esser□Heinz□*Die Hölle von Lamsdorf□Dokumentation über ein polnisches Vernichtungslager*□Bonn□Landsmannschaft der Oberschiesier e.V.□1969□□p.39□

[78] Anonymous testimony□□□Esser□Heinz□*Die Hölle von Lamsdorf□Dokumentation über ein polnisches Vernichtung*

slager□Bonn□Landsmannschaft der Oberschiesier e.V.□1969□□pp.38□44□

[79] Anonymous testimony□□□Esser□Heinz□*Die Hölle von Lamsdorf□Dokumentation über ein polnisches Vernichtungslager*□Bonn□Landsmannschaft der Oberschiesier e.V.□1969□□pp.51-61.

[80] Anonymous testimony□□□Esser□Heinz□*Die Hölle von Lamsdorf□Dokumentation über ein polnisches Vernichtungslager*□Bonn□Landsmannschaft der Oberschiesier e.V.□1969□□p.32□□□Polish Communist account□□Esser□Heinz□*Die Hölle von Lamsdorf□Dokumentation über ein polnisches Vernichtungslager*□Bonn□Landsmannschaft der Oberschiesier e.V.□1969□□p.59□

[81] Anonymous testimony□□□Esser□Heinz□*Die Hölle von Lamsdorf□Dokumentation über ein polnisches Vernichtungslager*□Bonn□Landsmannschaft der Oberschiesier e.V.□1969□□p.32□□□Polish Communist account□□Esser□Heinz□*Die Hölle von Lamsdorf□Dokumentation über ein polnisches Vernichtungslager*□Bonn□Landsmannschaft der Oberschiesier e.V.□1969□□p.26□cf.his testimony in Kaps□Johannes□*The Tragedie of Silesia 1945-46*□Munich□Christ Unterwegs□1952□□Report 193□p.534□□□□□□□□□□□

[82] According to one of the prosecutors□Frantiszek Lewandowski□□□the *Sunday Telegraph*□3 December 2000□

[83] Esser□Heinz□*Die Hölle von Lamsdorf□Dokumentation über ein polnisches Vernichtungslager*□Bonn□Landsmannschaft der Oberschiesier e.V.□1969□□pp.60□98.

[84] Nowak□Edmund□ed.□□*Obozy w Lamsdorf/Łambinowicach□1870-1946□*□Opole□Centralne Muzeum Jeńców Wojennych w Łambinowicach-Opolu□2006□□pp.283-4□Borodziej□Włodzimierz and Hans Lemberg□eds.□□*Die Deutschen östlich von Oder und Neiβe 1945-1950□Dokumente aus polnischen Archiven*□4 vols.□Marburg□Herder Institut□2003-4□□vol.II□p.379□Esser□Heinz□*Die Hölle von Lamsdorf□Dokumentation über ein polnisches Vernichtungslager*□Bonn□Landsmannschaft der Oberschiesier e.V.□1969□□pp.99-127.

[85] Spieler□Silke□ed.□□*Vertreibung und Vertreibungsverbrechen 1945-1948□Bericht des Bundesarchivs vom 28 Mai 1974□Archivalien und ausgewählte Erlebnisberichte*□Bonn□Bundesarchiv Koblenz & Kulturstiftung der Deutschen Vertriebenen□1989□□p.40.

[86] Borodziej□Włodzimierz and Hans Lemberg□eds.□□*Die Deutschen östlich von Oder und Neiβe 1945-1950□Dokumente aus polnischen Archiven*□4 vols.□Marburg□Herder Instit

ut□2003-4□□vol.I□p.98.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□/□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□30□□□□□□□□□□□□/□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□.

[87] □□□□Ursula Haverbeck-Wetzel interview in Charlie Russell’s TV documentary for the BBC□*The Last Nazis*□Part II□Minnow Films□2009.

[88] Order no.19 from the Department of Prisons and Camps of the Ministry for Public Security□in Borodziej□Włodzimierz and Hans Lemberg□eds.□□*Die Deutschen östlich von Oder und Neiβe 1945-1950□Dokumente aus polnischen Archiven*□4 vols.□Marburg□Herder Institut□2003-4□□vol.I□doc.25□pp.151-2.

[89] Dziurok□Adam□ed.□□*Obóz Pracy w Świętochłowicach w 1945 roku*□Warsaw□Instytut Pamięci Narodowej□2003□□pp.93-100.□□□□www.ipn.gov.pl/portal.php□serwis=en&dzial=2&id=71&search=10599□accessed 3 October 2011□

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]12[illegible]6[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [1] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [2] [illegible]·[illegible]Peter Voute[illegible]

> 对通敌者的刻骨仇恨，对复仇的强烈渴望，在当时如此普遍，以至于滥用私刑在所难免。尽管人人都有这种想法，但没有人知道应该如何报复。当时有谣言提及“刀斧之日”，暴民将会亲手执行法律。[3]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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> 我们正在重复使用盖世太保使用过的最为可耻的手段；纳粹主义似乎迷惑了许多人，让他们相信暴力总是合法的，他们可以对那些被他们视为魔鬼的人为所欲为，人人都有权夺走别人的生命。如果我们模仿野蛮人、变成野蛮人，那么我们战胜野蛮人又有什么意义？[8]

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[illegible]·[illegible]John Stevens[illegible]·[illegible]Franco Antonicelli[illegible]“[illegible]” [20] [illegible]

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[illegible]Salò[illegible]1943[illegible]

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[illegible]1930[illegible]*Fascist Penal Code*[illegible]Extraordinary Courts of Assize[illegible][28]

[illegible]Court of Cassation[illegible][29]

[illegible]1946[illegible]2[illegible]39.4[illegible]1580[illegible]5[illegible]

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[illegible]1500[illegible]

[illegible]50[illegible]1948[illegible]4[illegible]48.7[illegible]1956[illegible]7[illegible][40]

[illegible]723[illegible]95%[illegible]686[illegible]1/4[illegible]4[illegible]2[illegible]6[illegible]8[illegible]43[illegible]30[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]16[illegible]

[illegible]1938[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]

表2　针对西欧各国通敌者的司法裁决[41]

	挪威	丹麦	比利时	荷兰	法国	意大利	捷克斯洛伐克	奥地利
1945 年人口	310 万	400 万	830 万	930 万	4000 万	4540 万	1050 万	680 万
死刑 *	1	0. 7	3	0. 4	3. 8	0. 2	6. 5	0. 4
徒刑 *	573	33	582	553	110	110	208	200
轻罚 *	1083	—	378	663	188	—	234	7691
合计 *	1656	33	963	1216	309	—	449	7892

注：带 * 号数字为每 10 万人受罚人数。尽管上述某些数字甚为精确，但由于确切数字仍有争议，还是应该将其视为概略数字。然而，通过国与国的比较，还是能看出大致精确的图景。

[illegible]1944[illegible][42][illegible]

[illegible] [43] [illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible] [44]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]6[illegible]18[illegible]8500[illegible]“[illegible]10[illegible]” [45]

[illegible]11[illegible]2%[illegible] [46] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][47][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]20[illegible]60[illegible]1939[illegible]1945[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][48]

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[illegible] [53] [illegible]30[illegible]1/20[illegible] [54]

[illegible]21[illegible]·[illegible]Giampaolo Pansa[illegible]*Il Sangue dei vinti*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]35[illegible] [55] [illegible]

20[illegible]90[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Ion Antonescu[illegible]

[illegible]

[1] *Défense de la France* and Oslo *Dagbladet*[illegible]Novick[illegible]Peter[illegible]*The Resistance versus Vichy*[illegible]London[illegible]Chatto & Windu

s□1968□□p.31 and Dahl□Hans Fredrik□‘Dealing with the Past in Scandinavia’□in Jon Elster□ed.□□*Retribution and Reparation in the Transition to Democracy*□New York□Cambridge University Press□2006□□pp.154-8□

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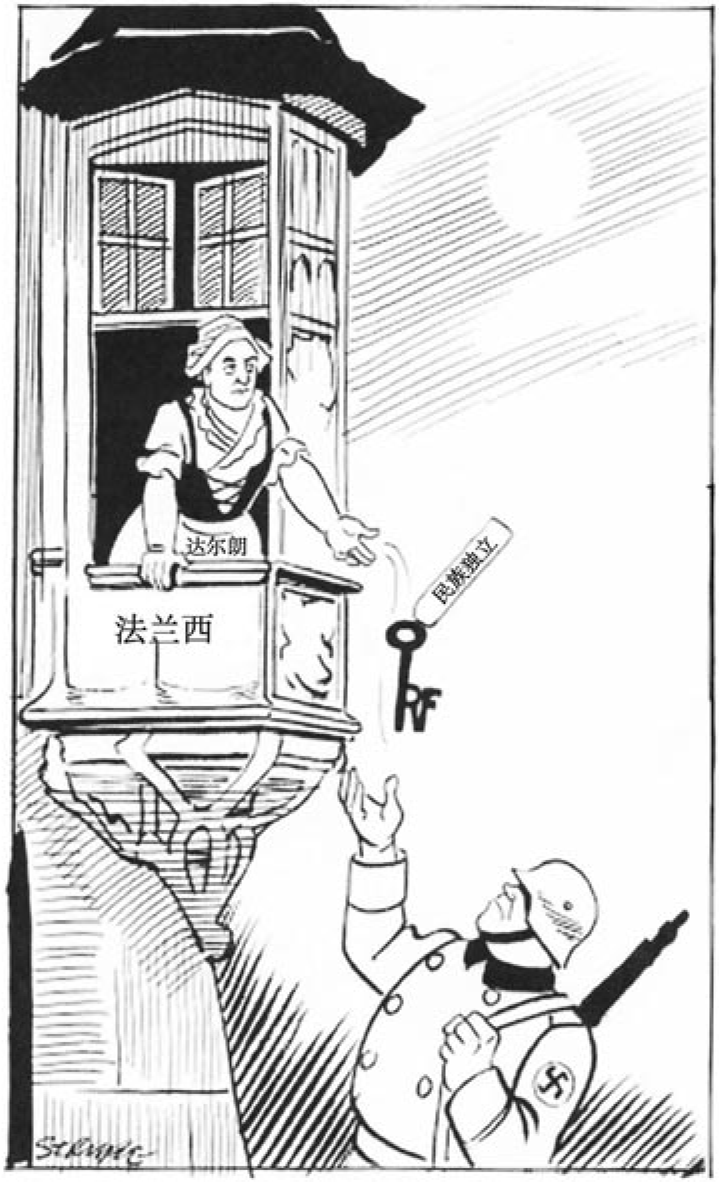

维希政权领导人弗朗索瓦·达尔朗把“她”的房间钥匙抛给德国人

□□200□□□“□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[7] □-□□·□□□Jean-Paul Sartre□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□[8]

[illegible]1942[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]

难道身为丈夫，还会挨家挨户上门哭诉，说自己的妻子是个娼妇吗？这样就能保存他的颜面吗？不能，因为他的妻子是这个家庭的成员。不能，因为他不能靠诋毁妻子来重拾尊严。让他回家面对妻子，让他消去怒火吧。因此，我不会说战败与我毫无关系，尽管这次战败让我时时感到屈辱。我是法国的一部分，而法国也是我的一部分。[9]

[illegible]-[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”“[illegible]”“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][10][illegible]

我们伟大部队的丰功伟绩……我们的部队准备投入伟大战斗时的热情；我们的海军舰队的精神；我们的空军中队的英勇；还有游击队员的英雄气概，他们没有军装，几乎没有武器，就靠纯粹的战斗热情动员起来……[11]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1944[illegible]8[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Philippe Leclerc[illegible]8[illegible]15[illegible]1940[illegible]

[illegible]FFI[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]les fifis[illegible]·[illegible]Pierre Koenig[illegible]1944[illegible]8[illegible]

[illegible]1944[illegible]6[illegible]10[illegible]10[illegible]40[illegible][12][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][13][illegible]·[illegible]Julius Neave[illegible]“[illegible]”[14][illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[15][illegible]

[illegible]Saint-Marcel[illegible]·[illegible]Jeanne Bohec[illegible]“[illegible]

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在圣安德烈德绍菲尔（St André d’Echauffeur），有人在我们路过时送上鲜花，还有人递上美酒，但在当地市场，却上演着残酷的场景，惩罚一名通敌者，一个所谓的坏女人。她被摁在椅子上，一名剃头匠给她剃了半个光头，她吸引了许多旁观者到场，我后来得知，旁观者包括几名游击队员和一名自由法国军官。这位妇女的母亲也在场，目睹剃头匠剃去女儿的头发，母亲捶胸顿足、胡言乱语，对着旁观者大喊大叫。这位妇女倒也挺有骨气。当她被剃光头发时，她跳起来高呼“德国人万岁”，于是某人捡起砖头把她打翻在地。[18]

□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□Richard Holborow□□□□□□□Dieppe□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□18□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

剃头匠从口袋里掏出刮脸刀，打开刀刃，抓起一位妇女的头发，熟练地划过几下，就把剃下的头发抛向人群。当剃头匠把妇女彻底剃

光时，她开始尖叫，然后，她被提起来，向叫嚣嘲笑的人群公开展示。

□□

他们兴高采烈地围观一群被剃光毛发的妇女，所有妇女的脖子上都挂着告示板，被迫徒手捡拾路上的马粪。每当粪桶被装满时，就有人踢翻粪桶，整个过程又得重新开始。显而易见的是，这座城镇的妇女还在报复那些与德军士兵有所勾搭的女孩。[19]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1944□9□□□□□□□□□*La Marseillaise*□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Endoume□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□[20]□□□□□□□□Troyes□□□

她们几乎一丝不挂，身上打着纳粹标志，浑身涂满黏稠的沥青，她们的头发被剪得乱七八糟，最后会以特别的方式被剃光，看上去就像奇特的囚犯。从前一天晚上开始，这种残忍的捕猎行动持续到第二天整个白天，许多当地人兴高采烈地围拢到街道两旁，看着这些妇女戴着德国国防军的帽子游街示众。[21]

□□□□·□□□□Fabrice Virgili□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□50□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[22]

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[illegible][24][illegible]

你们这些美丽女子啊，

却与法西斯党徒勾勾搭搭。

你们这把美丽长发啊，

迟早会被剃成短发。[25]

[illegible]·[illegible]Peter Novick[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][26][illegible][27][illegible]——[illegible][28][illegible]1944[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][29]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible][30][illegible][31][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]Arletty[illegible]“[illegible]”[32][illegible]2[illegible][33]

[illegible]70[illegible]·[illegible]Anthony Eden[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][34][illegible]·[illegible]Robert Brasillach[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][35]

[illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]5579[illegible][36][illegible]1.6[illegible]5[illegible][37][illegible]1/3[illegible]0.8[illegible]1.2[illegible][38][illegible]8.5[illegible][39][illegible]100[illegible]200[illegible][40]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Petra Ruigrok[illegible][41]

[illegible]*Lufotposten*[illegible]1945[illegible]5[illegible]19[illegible]

> 所有这些德国孩子，肯定会成长和发展为挪威民族当中一个杂种少数民族。因为他们的出身，他们肯定会好勇斗狠。他们没有民族，没有父亲，只有仇恨，这就是他们仅有的遗产。他们不可能成为挪威人。他们的父亲是德国人，他们的母亲在思想上和行动上是德国人。允许他们留在这个国家，相当于合法培养第五纵队。混杂在纯粹的挪威居民当中，他们将会永远构成动荡不安的因素。对挪威也好，对孩子也好，最好的办法是，让他们生活在他们本来所属的国家的天空下。[42]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][43][illegible]2001[illegible]

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[1] Virgili□Fabrice□*Shorn Women□Gender and Punishment in Liberation France*□trans. John Flower□Oxford and New York□Berg□2002□□p.173.

[2] □□Virgili□Fabrice□*Shorn Women□Gender and Punishment in Liberation France*□trans. John Flower□Oxford and New York□Berg□2002□□p.26□

[3] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Archives Nationales□Paris□72 AJ 108□AVIII□□Virgili□Fabrice□*Shorn Women□Gender and Punishment in Liberation France*□trans. John Flower□Oxford and New York□Berg□2002□□p.26□Warring□Anette□‘War□Cultural Loyalty and Gender’□in Kjersti Ericsson and Eva Simonsen□eds.□□*Children of World War II*□Oxford and New York□Berg□2005□□p.46□

[4] Olsen□Kåre□'Under the Care of the Lebensborn'□in Kjersti Ericsson and Eva Simonsen□eds.□□*Children of World War II*□Oxford and New York□Berg□2005□□p.24.

[5] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□36-40□

[6] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Lulu Ann Hansen□"'Youth Off the Rails'□Teenage Girls and German Soldiers-A Case Study in Occupied Denmark□1940-1945"□in Herzog□Dagmar□ed.□□*Brutality and Desire□War and Sexuality in Europe's Twentieth Century*□Basingstoke□Palgrave Macmillan□2009□□p.151□□□□□Warring□Anette□'War□Cultural Loyalty and Gender'□in Kjersti Ericsson and Eva Simonsen□eds.□□*Children of World War II*□Oxford and New York□Berg□2005□□pp.44-5□

[7] Virgili□Fabrice□*Shorn Women□Gender and Punishment in Liberation France*□trans. John Flower□Oxford and New York□Berg□2002□□p.238.

[8] □□Virgili□Fabrice□*Shorn Women□Gender and Punishment in Liberation France*□trans. John Flower□Oxford and New York□Berg□2002□□p.239□

[9] Saint-Exupéry□Antoine de□*Flight to Arras*□trans. Lewis Galantière□Harmondsworth□Penguin□1961□□p.145.

[10] Speech on the BBC□8 November 1942□□□de Gaulle□Charles□*Mémoires de Guerre*□vol. II□*L'Unité 1942-1944*□P

aris□Pion□1956□□p.393□Christmas speech to the French people□24 December 1943□p.553□speech to Consultative Assembly□Algiers□18 March 1944□p.560□

[11] Speech to Consultative Assembly□Algiers□18 March 1944□□□de De Gaulle□Charles□*Mémoires de Guerre*□vol. Ⅱ□*L'Unité 1942-1944*□Paris□Pion□1956□□p.562□

[12] □□Virgili□Fabrice□*Shorn Women□Gender and Punishment in Liberation France*□trans. John Flower□Oxford and New York□Berg□2002□□p.80□

[13] Derek L.Henry□IWM Docs 06/126/1□typescript account□pp.48□52□Captain Michael Bendix□IWM Docs 98/3/1□typescript account□p.30.

[14] Major J.A.S.Neave□IWM Docs 98/23/1□typescript diary□entry for 3 September 1944□p.157.

[15] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Major A.J.Forrest□12 September 1944□□□IWM Docs 91/13/1□typescript memoir□ch.10□p.3□

[16] Bohec□Jeanne□*La plastiqueuse à bicyclette*□Paris□Mercure de France□1975□□p.186.

[17] Weitz□Margaret Collins□*Sisters in the Resistance□How Women Fought to Free France□1940-1945*□New York□John Wiley & Sons□1995□□pp.149□170.

[18] Major A.J.Forrest□IWM Docs 91/13/1□typescript memoir□ch.8□p.11.

[19] Lt Richard W.Holborow□IWM Docs 07/23/1□typescript memoir□pp.135-6.

[20] *La Marseillaise*□3 September 1944□□□Virgili□Fabrice□*Shorn Women*□*Gender and Punishment in Liberation France*□trans. John Flower□Oxford and New York□Berg□2002□□p.191□

[21] Leaflet from the Comité Départemental de la Libération□Troyes□□□Virgili□Fabrice□*Shorn Women*□*Gender and Punishment in Liberation France*□trans. John Flower□Oxford and New York□Berg□2002□□p.191□

[22] Virgili□Fabrice□*Shorn Women*□*Gender and Punishment in Liberation France*□trans. John Flower□Oxford and New York□Berg□2002□□p.189.

[23] Warring□Anette□*Tyskerpiger-under besœttelse og retsopgør*□Copenhagen□Gyldendal□1994□□pp.156-73□Diederichs□Monika□‘Stigma and Silence□Dutch Women□German Soldiers and their Children’□in Kjersti Ericsson and Eva Simonsen□eds.□□*Children of World War II*□Oxford and New York□Berg□2005□□pp.157-8.

[24] Bunting□Madeleine□*The Model Occupation□The Channel Islands under German Rule*□1940-1945□London□Harper Collins□1995□□pp.235□258-9.

[25] □□Dondi□Mirco□*La lunga liberazione□Giustizia e violenza nel dopoguerra italiano*□Rome□Riumiti□2004□□p.126□□□□□□□□□□□“And you beautiful young girls/ who go with fascists/ your beautiful tresses/ will soon be shaved.”

[26] Novick□Peter□*The Resistance versus Vichy*□London□Chatto & Windus□1968□□pp.69□78.

[27] Rousso□Henry□‘The Purge in France’□in Jon Elster□ed.□□*Retribution and Reparation in the Transition to Democracy*□New York□Cambridge University Press□2006□□p.98.□□Diederichs□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□Diederichs□Monika□‘Stigma and Silence□Dutch Women□German Soldiers and their Children’□in Kjersti Ericsson and Eva Simonsen□eds.□□*Children of World War II*□Oxford and New York□Berg□2005□□p.157□

[28] Virgili□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Virgili□Fabrice□*Shorn Women□Gender and Punishment in Liberation France*□trans. John Flower□Oxford and New York□Berg□2002□□pp.93-4□172□

[29] Virgili□Fabrice□*Shorn Women□Gender and Punishment in Liberation France*□trans. John Flower□Oxford and New York□Berg□2002□□pp.65□94.□□□□the many examples in Brossat□Alain□*Les tondues□Un carnaval moche*□Paris□Hachette/Pluriel□1992□□*passim*□

[30] □□□□the photographs in Warring□Anette□*Tyskerpiger-under besættelse og retsopgør*□Copenhagen□Gyldendal□1994□□pp.100-101□161.

[31] Virgili□Fabrice□*Shorn Women□Gender and Punishment in Liberation France*□trans. John Flower□Oxford and New York□Berg□2002□□p.192.

[32] Rousso□Henry□‘The Purge in France’□in Jon Elster□ed.□□*Retribution and Reparation in the Transition to Democracy*□New York□Cambridge University Press□2006□□p.98.Also variously reported as “My heart is France’s□but my body is mine”□Arletty obituary□*Daily Telegraph*□27 July 1992□and “My heart is French□but my arse is international” □“Mon coeur est français mais mon cul est international”□ according to Buisson□Patrick□*1940-1945□The Erotic Years*□Paris□Albin Michel□2009□□p.9.

[33] Virgili□Fabrice□*Shorn Women□Gender and Punishment in Liberation France*□trans. John Flower□Oxford and New

York□Berg□2002□□p.52.

[34] Anthony Eden interview in Marcel Ophüls’s film documentary *Le Chagrin et la Pitié*□part II□“Le Choix”.

[35] □□Virgili□Fabrice□*Shorn Women□Gender and Punishment in Liberation France*□trans. John Flower□Oxford and New York□Berg□2002□□p.239□

[36] Warring□Anette□*Tyskerpiger-under besættelse og retsopgør*□Copenhagen□Gyldendal□1994□□p.146.

[37] □□□□□□□□□□□□□Johr□Barbara□‘Die Ereignisse in Zahlen’□in Helke Sander and Barbara Johr□eds.□□*Befreier und Befreite□Krieg□Vergewaltigung□Kinder*□Frankfurt-am-Main□Fischer Taschenbuch□2006□□p.71□Diederichs□Monika□‘Stigma and Silence□Dutch Women□German Soldiers and their Children’□in Kjersti Ericsson and Eva Simonsen□eds.□□*Children of World War II*□Oxford and New York□Berg□2005□□p.153□□□□□□□1.6□□

[38] □□□□□□□□□□□Olsen□Kåre□*Schicksal Lebensborn□Die Kinder der Schande und ihre Mütter*□trans. Ebba D. Drolshagen□Munich□Knaur□2004□□p.7□Olsen□□□□□□□□□1□□1.2□□□□□□□□□□□8000□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□9000□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[39] Johr□□□□□8.5□□10□□□□Johr□Barbara□'Die Ereignisse in Zahlen'□in Helke Sander and Barbara Johr□eds.□□*Befreier und Befreite□Krieg□Vergewaltigung□Kinder*□Frankfurt-am-Main□Fischer Taschenbuch□2006□□p.71□8.5□□□□□□□1943□10□15□□□□□□□□□□□□□□20□□□□□Buisson□Patrick□*1940-1945□The Erotic Years*□Paris□Albin Michel□2009□□pp.116-17□Roberts□Andrew□*The Storm of War*□London□Allen Lane□2009□□p.84□

[40] Drolshagen□Ebba D.□*Wehrmachtskinder□Auf der Suche nach dem nie gekannten Vater*□Munich□Droemer□2005□□p.9.

[41] □□Diederichs□Monika□'Stigma and Silence□Dutch Women□German Soldiers and their Children'□in Kjersti Ericsson and Eva Simonsen□eds.□□*Children of World War II*□Oxford and New York□Berg□2005□□p.157□

[42] *Lufotposten*□19 May 1945□quoted and translated in Ericsson□Kjersti and Dag Ellingsen□'Life Stories of Norwegian War Children'□in Kjersti Ericsson and Eva Simonsen□eds.□□*Children of World War II*□Oxford and New York□Berg□2005□□p.94.

[43] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□Olsen□Kåre□'Under the Care of the Lebensborn'□in Kjersti Ericsson and Eva Simonsen□eds.□□*Chil*

dren of World War II□Oxford and New York□Berg□2005□□pp.307-19□

[44] □□2001□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Ericsson□Kjersti and Dag Ellingsen□‘Life Stories of Norwegian War Children’□in Kjersti Ericsson and Eva Simonsen□eds.□□*Children of World War II*□Oxford and New York□Berg□2005□□pp.93-111□

[45] Olsen□Kåre□‘Under the Care of the Lebensborn’□in Kjersti Ericsson and Eva Simonsen□eds.□□*Children of World War II*□Oxford and New York□Berg□2005□□p.26.

[46] Borgersrud□Lars□‘Meant to be Deported’□in Kjersti Ericsson and Eva Simonsen□eds.□□*Children of World War II*□Oxford and New York□Berg□2005□□pp.71-2.

[47] Borgersrud□Lars□‘Meant to be Deported’□in Kjersti Ericsson and Eva Simonsen□eds.□□*Children of World War II*□Oxford and New York□Berg□2005□□pp.71-2.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Kåre Olsen□□□□□□□3000□□□□Olsen□Kåre□‘Under the Care of the Lebensborn’□in Kjersti Ericsson and Eva Simonsen□eds.□□*Children of World War II*□Oxford and New York□Berg□2005□□p.26□

[48] Borgersrud□Lars□‘Meant to be Deported’□in Kjersti Ericsson and Eva Simonsen□eds.□□*Children of World War II*□Oxford and New York□Berg□2005□□p.87.

[49] □□□1990□□□□□□Olsen□Kåre□'Under the Care of the Lebensborn'□in Kjersti Ericsson and Eva Simonsen□eds.□□*Children of World War II*□Oxford and New York□Berg□2005□□p.29□

[50] □□□□□□□□□□□□□Ericsson□Kjersti and Dag Ellingsen□'Life Stories of Norwegian War Children'□in Kjersti Ericsson and Eva Simonsen□eds.□□*Children of World War II*□Oxford and New York□Berg□2005□□pp.93-111□

[51] Drolshagen□Ebba D.□*Wehrmachtskinder□Auf der Suche nach dem nie gekannten Vater*□Munich□Droemer□2005□□p.101.

[52] Borgersrud□Lars□'Meant to be Deported'□in Kjersti Ericsson and Eva Simonsen□eds.□□*Children of World War II*□Oxford and New York□Berg□2005□□p.85.

[53] Ericsson□Kjersti and Dag Ellingsen□'Life Stories of Norwegian War Children'□in Kjersti Ericsson and Eva Simonsen□eds.□□*Children of World War II*□Oxford and New York□Berg□2005□□p.109.

[54] Ericsson□Kjersti and Dag Ellingsen□'Life Stories of Norwegian War Children'□in Kjersti Ericsson and Eva Simonsen□eds.□□*Children of World War II*□Oxford and New York□Berg□2005□□pp.105-6.

[55] Drolshagen□Ebba D.□*Wehrmachtskinder□Auf der Suche nach dem nie gekannten Vater*□Munich□Droemer□2005□□p.96.

[56] Arne Øland□“Silences□Public and Private”□in Ericsson□Kjersti and Eva Simonsen□eds.□□*Children of World War Ⅱ*□Oxford and New York□Berg□2005□□p.60.

[57] Arne Øland□“Silences□Public and Private”□in Ericsson□Kjersti and Eva Simonsen□eds.□□*Children of World War Ⅱ*□Oxford and New York□Berg□2005□□p.60.

[58] Drolshagen□Ebba D.□*Wehrmachtskinder□Auf der Suche nach dem nie gekannten Vater*□Munich□Droemer□2005□□p.118.

[59] Drolshagen□Ebba D.□*Wehrmachtskinder□Auf der Suche nach dem nie gekannten Vater*□Munich□Droemer□2005□□p.137.

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[illegible]

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[illegible] 10 [illegible]

1/10[illegible]

[illegible]Aussig[illegible]2000[illegible]6500[illegible]100[illegible]1500[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]10[illegible]10[illegible]15[illegible]2009[illegible]2[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Berek Obuchowski[illegible]“[illegible]5%[illegible]”[1][illegible]1945[illegible]5[illegible]·[illegible]Zalman Grinberg[illegible]“[illegible]10[illegible]”[2]

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[illegible]

[illegible]1933[illegible]1945[illegible]2006[illegible][3]

[illegible]20[illegible]90[illegible]·[illegible]John Sack[illegible]6000[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]”[illegible]1992[illegible][4]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[1] Berek Obuchowski interview□IWM Sound□9203□reel 5.

[2] Dr Zalman Grinberg□□□Gilbert□Martin□*The Day the War Ended*□London□HarperCollins□1995□□pp.391-2□

[3] □□“Attacks on Jews soar since Lebanon”□*The Times*□2 September 2006□□□“Anti-Semitic Attacks Hit Record High Following Lebanon War”□*Guardian*□2 February 2007□

[4] Laurel Cohen-Pfister□“Rape□War and Outrage□Changing Perceptions on German Victimhood in the Period of Post-unification”□in Cohen-Pfister□Laurel and Dagmar Wienroeder-Skinner□eds.□□*Victims and Perpetrators□□Re□Presenting the Past in Post-Unification Culture*□Berlin and New York□Walter de Gruyter□2006□□pp.321-5.

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你应该创造某种局势……某种他们自己极力避免的局势。

——约瑟夫·斯大林[1]

[1] [illegible]Naimark[illegible]Norman[illegible]*Fires of Hatred*[illegible]Cambridge[illegible]MA[illegible]Harvard University Press[illegible]2002[illegible]p.109[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]5[illegible]

[illegible]

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[1] Burleigh Michael *The Third Reich A New History* London Pan 2001 pp.449-50.

[illegible]

[illegible]

1945[illegible]5[illegible]18[illegible]·[illegible]Roman Halter[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

我很高兴见到他……我还记得我从父母那儿学来的俄语单词。我说：“俄国人，我爱你。”然后又加了一句：“你好，朋友。”他惊奇地看着我，然后以极快的语速说了一溜俄语。我笑了笑，用波兰语告诉他，我听不懂他说的话。他上下打量着我，然后看着我的自行车说：“给我手表。”我明白了。他撩起衣袖，露出前臂上戴满的手表，然后又重复了一遍：“给我手表。”

我瞥见他的双眼，他的眼神严厉而冷峻。我开始跟他说波兰语。我告诉他，我没有手表，而且把我两条瘦削的胳臂亮给他看。他指着

我自行车握把上鼓鼓的毛毯，说了几句俄语。我上前打开一个罐子，并且递给他看。我说：“同志，这是肉。”透过玻璃罐子也看得见这是肉。他看着罐子，然后看着我。我说：“朋友，这是你的，拿走吧，享用吧。”

他把玻璃罐子举过头顶，端详了几秒钟，然后把玻璃罐子摔到地上。玻璃和肉末四处飞溅。我看着这名俄国士兵，内心感到一阵恐惧。我该说什么才能让他放过我呢？在那瞬间，我感到手足无措。他用俄语说：“脱掉你的裤子。”我站在那儿瑟瑟发抖，不太明白他说什么。他重复着他的命令，手里还比画着，让我明白他要我怎么做。

……我小心翼翼地把自行车放到地上，以免打破口袋里的玻璃罐子，然后开始脱裤子。我在想：为什么他要我这样做呢？或许他以为我在裤腰带上绑着手表。我必须告诉他，我不是说波兰语的德裔人。所以，当我脱掉裤子，让他看见我没有裤腰带和手表时，我慢慢地用波兰语告诉他，我是犹太人。我知道这个单词怎么说。我重复着：“我是犹太人，我是你的同志。”

此时，我站在他面前，腰部以下脱个精光，我的本能告诉我，我可不能脱掉我那装饰精美的靴子，如果他拿走我的靴子，我就得打赤脚了。我可不能光着脚走到霍代奇（Chodecz）。所以，我就让裤子和底裤摊在我的袜子和靴子上。我再次瞥见他的双眼。当他看见我赤裸的身体时，眼中带着轻蔑。我在他眼中看见了杀人者的空洞眼神。

他从手枪皮套中取出左轮手枪，指着我的脑壳扣动了扳机。我能听到响亮的击锤撞击声。他不再跟我费口舌，启动摩托车绝尘而去。

我在那里呆立良久，裤子和底裤还摊在地上，我看着他消失在远方。[1]

[2]

[illegible]American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[3][illegible]“[illegible]”[4][illegible]Garmisch[illegible]Memmingen[illegible]600[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][5]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][6][illegible]

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[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][7][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]11[illegible]5000[illegible]1945[illegible]71564[illegible][8][illegible][9]

[illegible]“V”[illegible]

[illegible]Queen Wilhelmina[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Karel de Vries[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[10][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][11][illegible][12][illegible]“[illegible]”[13]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

一对肚满肠肥的法国夫妇对一位从集中营回来的囚犯说：“你知道吗，我亲切的孩子，我们也曾经饱受不自由的痛苦啊。”（《马赛人报》，1945年6月3日）

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]” [20]

[illegible] [21] [illegible] [22] [illegible]“[illegible]” [23]

[illegible] [24] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]Kunmadaras[illegible]250[illegible]8000[illegible]1944[illegible]4[illegible]73

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][25]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[26]

[illegible]1945[illegible]1946[illegible]1946[illegible]5[illegible]·[illegible]Ferenc Kuti[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Eszter Toth Kabai[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][27]

[illegible]·[illegible]Balázs Kálmán[illegible]“[illegible]”[28]

[illegible]·[illegible]15[illegible][29][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]S ara Kerepesi[illegible]“[illegible]”[30]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][31][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][32][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][33][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]Ózd[illegible]Miskolc[illegible]Makó[illegible]

[illegible]1946[illegible]158486%[illegible][34][illegible]·[illegible]György Faludy[illegible]3000[illegible]1938[illegible]600[illegible]90%[illegible][35][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][36][illegible]·[illegible]Mátyás Rákosi[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][37]

[illegible][38]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1946[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][39]

[illegible]1946[illegible]·[illegible]Mór Reinchardt[illegible]Jánoshalma[illegible]8[illegible]

遗憾的是，在密什科尔茨事件以及其他类似事件后，犹太人显然同时受到共产党和小农党的憎恨。一方的口号和海报写着“打倒共产党和犹太人！”，另一方的口号和海报写着“打倒小农党和犹太人！”。犹太人受到普遍憎恨，所有党派都准备消灭每一个犹太人，

无论此人有罪还是无辜……在我看来，别无选择，只有向占领军寻求保护。我们需要寻求他们的帮助。在这里，在匈牙利，犹太人已经无法立足。因此，我们需要离去。我们需要移居国外。我们需要请求苏联军事当局允许我们离开这个国家……当我们移居国外时……苏联红军应该继续占领这个国家，以便保护我们。[40]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]16[illegible]·[illegible]Częstochowa[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][41]

[illegible]1946[illegible]500[illegible]1500[illegible][42][illegible]

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他们开始朝房门射击，我们当中有一个人受伤，后来伤重不治。他们冲进房门。他们是穿着制服的士兵，当中夹杂着几个平民。然后

我就受伤了。他们命令我们出去。他们让我们排成两列纵队。楼梯间里面已经站满了平民，当中还有妇女。士兵们用枪托击打我们。平民包括男男女女，都在殴打我们。我穿着一件类似制服的马甲，也许正因如此，他们当时没有打我。我们来到广场上。其他与我一起被带出来的人受到刀刺和枪击。人们朝我们扔石块，但我当时仍未受到伤害。我穿过广场走到出口，但肯定是我的面部特征让他们认出了我是被带出大楼的犹太人，因为一个平民尖叫道：“犹太人！”他们那时候才开始攻击我。石块朝我飞来，我被枪托击打，我跌倒后失去了知觉。过了一会儿，我恢复知觉，他们又用石头和枪托打我。当我躺在地上时，一个人想要射杀我，但我听到另一个人说：“不要开枪，他反正都要咽气了。”我再次晕了过去。当我醒来的时候，有人拖着我的脚把我扔上卡车。这可能是另一名士兵，因为当我再次醒来的时候，我已经躺在凯尔采医院了。[47]

[illegible]600[illegible]Ludwików[illegible]15[illegible]20[illegible]3[illegible]2[illegible]42[illegible]80[illegible]30[illegible][48]

[illegible]·[illegible]August Hlond[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][49]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][50] [illegible]·[illegible]Jakub Berman[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Michael Etkind[illegible]“[illegible]”[51] [illegible]·[illegible]Harry Balsam[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[52] [illegible]1945[illegible]10[illegible]Joint Distribution Committee[illegible]·[illegible]Joseph Levine[illegible]“[illegible]”[53]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1946[illegible]1946[illegible]5[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]Edward Osóbka-Morawski[illegible][54] [illegible]·“[illegible]”·[illegible]Yitzhak ‘Antek’ Zuckerman[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Marian Spychalski[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][55]

[illegible]1946[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]3502[illegible]6[illegible]8000[illegible]7[illegible]1.9[illegible]8[illegible]35346[illegible]9[illegible]12379[illegible]1.4[illegible]1946[illegible]7[illegible]9[illegible]9[illegible]9.5[illegible][56]

[illegible]20[illegible]1.8[illegible]1.9[illegible]1.8[illegible][57][illegible]1948[illegible]1950[illegible]4[illegible]30[illegible][58]

[illegible]

[illegible]10[illegible]12849[illegible][59]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Yehuda Bauer[illegible][60]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Ernest Bevin[illegible]“[illegible]”[61]

[illegible]

[illegible]1946[illegible]1947[illegible]11[illegible]1948[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][62] [illegible]

5.犹太人逃往巴勒斯坦的路线

□□

□□1948□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

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[2] Blom□J. C. H. et al.□eds.□□*The History of the Jews in the Netherlands*□trans. Arnold J. Pomerans and Erica Pomerans□Oxford and Portland□OR□Littman Library of Jewish Civilization□2002□□p.337.

[3] Lewkowicz□Bea□'"After the War We Were All Together"□Jewish Memories of Postwar Thessaloniki'□in Mark Mazower□ed.□□*After the War Was Over*□Princeton and Oxford□Princeton University Press□2000□□p.260.

[4] Hondius□Dienke□*Return□Holocaust Survivors and Dutch Anti-Semitism*□trans. David Colmer□Westport□CT□Praeger□2003□□p.104.

[5] Report in *Neue Welt*□no.1□□□Gringauz□Samuel□'Our New German Policy and the DP's□Why Immediate Resettlement is Imperative'□*Commentary*□vol. 5□no. 3□June 1948□□p. 512□

[6] Abba Kovner□□□Bauer□Yehuda□*Flight and Rescue□Brichah*□New York□Random House□1970□□p.36□Gringauz□Samuel□‘Jewish Destiny as the DP’s See It□The Ideology of the Surviving Remnant’□*Commentary*□Journal of the American Jewish Committee□□vol. 4□no. 6□December 1947□□p.504.

[7] Levi□Primo□*Survival in Auschwitz and The Reawakening□Two Memoirs*□trans. Stuart Woolf□New York□Summit Books□1986□□p.373.

[8] Hondius□Dienke□*Return□Holocaust Survivors and Dutch Anti-Semitism*□trans. David Colmer□Westport□CT□Praeger□2003□□pp.55□77.

[9] Hondius□Dienke□*Return□Holocaust Survivors and Dutch Anti-Semitism*□trans. David Colmer□Westport□CT□Praeger□2003□□pp.78-82.

[10] Hondius□Dienke□*Return□Holocaust Survivors and Dutch Anti-Semitism*□trans. David Colmer□Westport□CT□Praeger□2003□□p.80.

[11] Levi□Fabio□‘Italian Society and Jews after the Second World War□Between Silence and Reparation’□in Jonathan Dunnage□ed.□□*After the War□Violence□Justice□Continuity and Renewal in Italian Society*□Market Harborough□Troubador□1999□□p.26.

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[13] Hondius□Dienke□*Return□Holocaust Survivors and Dutch Anti-Semitism*□trans. David Colmer□Westport□CT□Praeger□2003□□pp.76□79-80□93-5.

[14] F.C.Brasz□“After the Second World War□From‘Jewish Church’to Cultural Minority”□in Blom□J. C. H. et al.□eds.□□*The History of the Jews in the Netherlands*□trans. Arnold J. Pomerans and Erica Pomerans□Oxford and Portland□OR□Littman Library of Jewish Civilization□2002□□p.337.

[15] Rita Koopman□Ab Caransa□Gerhard Durlacher and Mrs’t Hoen□□□Hondius□Dienke□*Return□Holocaust Survivors and Dutch Anti-Semitism*□trans. David Colmer□Westport□CT□Praeger□2003□□p.100□

[16] □□Hondius□Dienke□*Return□Holocaust Survivors and Dutch Anti-Semitism*□trans. David Colmer□Westport□CT□Praeger□2003□□p.100□

[17] Hitchcock□William I.□*Liberation□The Bitter Road to Freedom□Europe 1944-1945*□London□Faber & Faber□2009□□pp.271-2.

[18] Newspaper story□□□Pelle□János□*Az utoisó vérvádak*□Budapest□Pelikán□1995□□pp.228-9□

[19] Ethel Landerman testimony□□□Shephard□Ben□*The Long Road Home□The Aftermath of the Second World War*□London□Bodley Head□2010□□p.393□

[20] □□Kenez□Peters□*Hungary from the Nazis to the Soviets□The Establishment of the Communist Regime in Hungary□1944-1945*□New York□Cambridge University Press□2009□□p.158□

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[22] Myant□Martin□*Socialism and Democracy in Czechoslovakia□1945-1948*□Cambridge University Press□1981□□p.103□Pelle□János□*Az utoisó vérvádak*□Budapest□Pelikán□1995□□151□Jean Ancel□“The Seizure of Jewish Property in Romania”□in United States Holocaust Memorial Museum□*The Confiscation of Jewish Property in Europe 1933-1945□Symposiu*

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[23] Gross□Jan T.□*Fear□Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz*□New York□Random House□2006□□p.44.

[24] □□□□Kovaly□Heda Margolis□*Prague Farewell*□trans. Franci Epstein and Helen Epstein□London□Gollancz□1988□□pp.56-7□Acheson□Dean□*Present at the Creation□My Years at the State Department*□New York□Norton□1969□□p.357□Gross□Jan T.□*Fear□Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz*□New York□Random House□2006□□pp.39-51□Lewkowicz□Bea□'“After the War We Were All Together”□Jewish Memories of Postwar Thessaloniki’□in Mark Mazower□ed.□□*After the War Was Over*□Princeton and Oxford□Princeton University Press□2000□□p.260□Gilbert□Martin□*The Boys*□London□Phoenix□1997□□pp.268□274□

[25] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Pelle□János□*Az utoisó vérvádak*□Budapest□Pelikán□1995□□pp.151-68□

[26] Eszter Toth Kabai interview in *Haladás*□□□Pelle□János□*Az utoisó vérvádak*□Budapest□Pelikán□1995□□p.161□

[27] Pelle□János□*Az utoisó vérvádak*□Budapest□Pelikán□1995□□pp.157-60.

[28] Pelle□János□*Az utoisó vérvádak*□Budapest□Pelikán□1995□□p.160.

[29] Kenez□Peters□*Hungary from the Nazis to the Soviets□The Establishment of the Communist Regime in Hungary□1944-1945*□New York□Cambridge University Press□2009□□pp.159-60□□□□□□□□□□3□□□□□18□□□□□Éva Vörös□“Kunmadaras Újabb adatok a pogrom történetéhez”□*Múlt és jövo*□no.4□1994□□

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[31] Pelle□János□*Az utoisó vérvádak*□Budapest□Pelikán□1995□□p.173.

[32] Levi□Fabio□‘Italian Society and Jews after the Second World War□Between Silence and Reparation’□in Jonathan Dunnage□ed.□□*After the War□Violence□Justice□Continuity and Renewal in Italian Society*□Market Harborough□Troubador□1999□□pp.28-9.

[33] Gross□Jan T.□*Fear□Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz*□New York□Random House□2006□□pp.47-51.

[34] Siklos□Pierre L.□*War Finance□Reconstruction□Hyperinflation and Stabilization in Hungary□1938-48*□Basingstoke□Macmillan□1991□□p.1.

[35] □□Eby□Cecil D.□*Hungary at War□Civilians and Soldiers in World War II*□Philadelphia□Pennsylvania State University Press□1998□□p.287□

[36] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1945□□□□14%□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1%□2%□□□Kenez□Peters□*Hungary from the Nazis to the Soviets□The Establishment of the Communist Regime in Hungary□1944-1945*□New York□Cambridge University Press□2009□□p.156□

[37] Pelle□János□*Az utoisó vérvádak*□Budapest□Pelikán□1995□□p.206.

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[41] Ben Helfgott□personal interview□19 May 2008.

[42] Gross□Jan T.□*Fear□Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz*□New York□Random House□2006□□p.35.

[43] Bauer□Yehuda□*Flight and Rescue□Brichah*□New York□Random House□1970□□p.15□Gross□Jan T.□*Fear□Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz*□New York□Random House□2006□□p.36.

[44] Gross□Jan T.□*Fear□Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz*□New York□Random House□2006□□pp.74-5.

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[46] □□□□□Gross□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Gross□Jan T.□*Fear□Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz*□New York□Random House□2006□□pp.81-117□

[47] □□Gross□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Gross□Jan T.□*Fear□Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz*□New York□Random House□2006□□p.89.

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[50] Gross□Jan T.□*Fear□Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz*□New York□Random House□2006□□p.98.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Bauer□Yehuda□*Flight and Rescue□Brichah*□New York□Random House□1970□□pp.206-11□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Kochavi□Arieh J.□*Post-Holocaust Politics*□Chapel Hill and London□University of North Carolina Press□2001□□p.175□

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5□187□Bauer□Yehuda□*Flight and Rescue□Brichah*□New York□Random House□1970□□pp.216-23□Shephard□Ben□*The Long Road Home□The Aftermath of the Second World War*□London□Bodley Head□2010□□pp.186-9□235-6.

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[59] Shephard□Ben□*The Long Road Home□The Aftermath of the Second World War*□London□Bodley Head□2010□□pp. 190-99□Bauer□Yehuda□*Flight and Rescue□Brichah*□New York□Random House□1970□□p.319.

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1946[illegible]1[illegible]·[illegible]34[illegible]-[illegible]Zawadka Morochowska[illegible]Zavadka Morochivska[illegible]Sanok[illegible]

军队于黎明时分抵达村庄。男人们开始逃进树林，逃不出去的人试图在阁楼和地窖里找到藏身之所，但人们无处可躲。波兰士兵到处搜索，确保没有一个地方被遗漏。每当士兵抓到男人，男人就当场被杀；如果士兵找不到男人，他们就殴打妇女和孩子……我父亲藏在阁楼里，波兰士兵命令我母亲爬上梯子找我父亲。这些命令还伴随着枪托的重击。当母亲开始攀爬时，楼梯突然断裂，母亲摔到地上，摔断了胳膊，他们用重重的军靴踢打母亲。我和我四岁的女儿跑到我母亲身边，想要保护我母亲，但士兵开始殴打我和我的孩子。我瞬间失去知觉，当我醒来的时候，我的母亲、我的孩子，都已经被杀了，整个村庄被付之一炬！[1]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[2] [illegible]

“[illegible]”[3]

[illegible]-[illegible]11[illegible]4[illegible]56[illegible][4]

[illegible]-[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]-[illegible]

[illegible]-[illegible]/[illegible][5]

[illegible]-[illegible][6]

[illegible]/[illegible]

[illegible]20[illegible]30[illegible]1943[illegible]

[illegible]OUN[illegible][7]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Volhynia[illegible]

1941[illegible]1942[illegible]1.2[illegible]20[illegible][8]

1942[illegible]Ukrainian Insurgent Army[illegible]

[illegible]1942[illegible]

[illegible]1943[illegible]Oleksięta[illegible][9][illegible]-[illegible]Wysocko WyAżne[illegible]13[illegible][10][illegible]-[illegible]Wola Ostrowiecka[illegible][11]

[illegible]Podkamień[illegible]1944[illegible]3[illegible]12[illegible][12]

[illegible]1943[illegible]1944[illegible][13]

□□·□□□□□Dmytro Kliachkivs’kyi□□□□□□□□“□□16□60□□□□□□”□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□Zavykhost□□□□□·□□□□Iurii Stel’mashchuk□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1943□8□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1.5□□□□”[14]

□□1944□□[15]

□□□·□□□Waldemar Lotnik□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

> 前两天晚上，他们杀了我们7个人，当晚，我们就杀了他们16个人……一周以后，乌克兰人开始报复，他们彻底抹掉了一个波兰居民点，他们放火烧屋，杀死那些未能逃走的居民，强奸落到他们手上的妇女……我们还以颜色，袭击了一处更大的乌克兰村庄，这次我们当中有两三个人杀了女人和孩子……乌克兰人再次报复，他们摧毁了一处有500名波兰人的村庄，折磨和杀死所有落到他们手上的人。我们再

次还以颜色，摧毁他们两处更大的村庄……战斗步步升级。每次都有更多居民被杀害，更多房屋被烧毁，更多妇女被强奸。男人们很快变得残酷无情，仿佛除了杀人放火，他们什么都不会做。[16]

[illegible]-[illegible][17][illegible][18][illegible]-[illegible]1946[illegible]

[illegible]5[illegible]2[illegible]3[illegible]9[illegible]2[illegible][19][illegible][20][illegible]

[illegible]

1944□□□

□□

□□□□□□20□□30□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□/□□□“□□□□”□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□/□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Curzon Line□□-□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1939□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[21]□□□“□□□□□□□□”[22]

□□1943□11□□·□□□□□Stanisław Mikołajczyk□□1945□2□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[23]

[illegible]1941[illegible]*Atlantic Charter*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Arthur Bliss Lane[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [24] [illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]John Rhys Davies[illegible]“[illegible]” [25]

[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]

[illegible]20[illegible]20[illegible]30[illegible] [26] [illegible]1944[illegible]5[illegible] [27] [illegible] [28]

1944[illegible]1946[illegible]782582[illegible]231152[illegible]169244[illegible]120[illegible] [29] [illegible]1945[illegible]1946[illegible]

1945[illegible]7[illegible]·[illegible]Maria Józefowska[illegible]Czerwonogród[illegible]Jarosław[illegible] [30]

[illegible]48.2[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [31] [illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Home Army[illegible]Łemkos[illegible]Beskidy[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Henryk Jan Mielcarek[illegible] [32] [illegible]

1945[illegible]1946[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1945[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]/[illegible]75%[illegible]1945[illegible]1946[illegible]

[illegible] [33]

1946[illegible]7.4[illegible]20[illegible] [34]

[illegible]1947[illegible]

[illegible]1947[illegible]3[illegible]28[illegible]·[illegible]Karol Świerczewski[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [35] [illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Operation Vistula[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [36]

[illegible]

1947[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [37]

[illegible]-[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1947[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [38]

[illegible]·[illegible]Anna Klimasz[illegible]·[illegible]Rozalia Najduch[illegible]Bednarka[illegible]“[illegible]……” [39]

[illegible]·[illegible]Olga Zdanowicz[illegible]Grąziowa[illegible]Trzcianiec[illegible] [40] [illegible]Zagórzany[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Anna Szewczyk[illegible]·[illegible]Mikołaj Sokac

z[illegible][41][illegible]

[illegible]Jaworzno[illegible]·[illegible]16
1[illegible]5[illegible]2[illegible][42]

[illegible][43]

[illegible]1947[illegible][44]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][45][illegible]·[illegible]Teodor Szewczyk[illegible]“[illegible]”[46][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible][47]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]20[illegible]50[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][48][illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[49]

1947[illegible]1939[illegible]

[illegible]1947[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]20[illegible]40[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1944[illegible]1946[illegible]1947[illegible]

[illegible]

[1] Anonymous witness[illegible]Dushnyck[illegible]Walter[illegible]*Death and Devastation on the Curzon Line*[illegible]*The Story of the Deportatio*

ns from Ukraine□New York□Committee Against Mass Expulsion/Ukrainian Congress Committee of America□1948□□pp.15-16□□□□□Misiło□Eugeniusz□ed.□□*Repatriacja czy deportacja□□Przesiedlenie Ukraińców z Polski do USSR 1944-1946*□Warsaw□Archiwum Ukraińskie□1996-9□□vol.II□pp.24□31□39□43□□□Snyder□Timothy□*The Reconstruction of Nations□Poland□Ukraine□Lithuania□Belarus□1569-1999*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□2003□□p.194□

[2] Anonymous witness□□□Dushnyck□Walter□*Death and Devastation on the Curzon Line□The Story of the Deportations from Ukraine*□New York□Committee Against Mass Expulsion/Ukrainian Congress Committee of America□1948□□pp.16-17□

[3] Testimony of 2nd Lieutenant Bronisław Kuzma□□□Dushnyck□Walter□*Death and Devastation on the Curzon Line□The Story of the Deportations from Ukraine*□New York□Committee Against Mass Expulsion/Ukrainian Congress Committee of America□1948□□p.21□

[4] Snyder□Timothy□*The Reconstruction of Nations□Poland□Ukraine□Lithuania□Belarus□1569-1999*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□2003□□p.194.□□□70□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□pp.18□19□31-2□

[5] Snyder□Timothy□*The Reconstruction of Nations□Poland□Ukraine□Lithuania□Belarus□1569-1999*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□2003□□pp.182-7.

[6] □□□□Snyder□Timothy□*The Reconstruction of Nations□Poland□Ukraine□Lithuania□Belarus□1569-1999*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□2003□□esp.pp.177□200□Gross□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Gross□Jan T.□*Fear□Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz*□New York□Random House□2006□□pp. 260-61□

[7] □□□□□·□□□□OUN-B□□□□□□□□□·□□□□OUN-M□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Snyder□Timothy□*The Reconstruction of Nations□Poland□Ukraine□Lithuania□Belarus□1569-1999*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□2003□□pp.164-8□Yekelchyk□Serhy□*Ukraine□Birth of a Modern Nation*□Oxford University Press□2007□□pp.127-8□141-4□

[8] Snyder□Timothy□*The Reconstruction of Nations□Poland□Ukraine□Lithuania□Belarus□1569-1999*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□2003□□pp.158-62.

[9] Testimony of Jan Szkolniaki□AWK II/2091.

[10] Testimony of Mirosław Ilnicki□AWK II/3327.

[11] Piotrowski□Tadeusz□*Vengeance of the Swallows*□Jefferson□NC□Macfarland□1995□□p.89.

[12] Testimony of Mieczysława Woskresińska□AWK II/2215/p.

[13] □□□□testimonies in AWK□II/36□II/594□II/737□II/953□II/1144□II/1146□II/2099□II/2110□II/2353□II/2352□II/2451□II/2650□II/2667□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Snyder□Timothy□*The Reconstruction of Nations□Poland□Ukraine□Lithuania□Belarus□1569-1999*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□2003□□pp.169-70 and related endnotes□

[14] Kliachkivs'kyi and Stel'mashchuk□□□Statiev□Alexander□*The Soviet Counterinsurgency in the Western Borderlands*□New York□Cambridge University Press□2010□□p.86□

[15] □□□□the massacres of Ukrainians in Piskorowice□Pawłokoma and Wierzchowiny by Polish militias□Misiło□Eugeniusz□ed.□□*Akcja 'Wisła'*□Warsaw□Archiwum Ukraińskie□1993□□p.13□Piotrowski□Tadeusz□*Vengeance of the Swallows*□Jefferson□NC□Macfarland□1995□□p.93□Statiev□Alexander□*The Soviet Counterinsurgency in the Western Borderlands*□New York□Cambridge University Press□2010□□p.87□

[16] Lotnik□Waldemar□*Nine Lives*□London□Serif□1999□□pp.65-6.

[17] Testimony of Bronisław Kuzma□□□Dushnyck□Walter□*Death and Devastation on the Curzon Line□The Story of th*

e Deportations from Ukraine□New York□Committee Against Mass Expulsion/Ukrainian Congress Committee of America□1948□□p.21□

[18] Snyder□Timothy□*The Reconstruction of Nations□Poland□Ukraine□Lithuania□Belarus□1569-1999*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□2003□□p.194.

[19] Statiev□Alexander□*The Soviet Counterinsurgency in the Western Borderlands*□New York□Cambridge University Press□2010□□pp.87-8□Snyder□Timothy□*The Reconstruction of Nations□Poland□Ukraine□Lithuania□Belarus□1569-1999*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□2003□□p.205.□□□□Siemaszko□Władisław and Ewa Siemaszko□*Ludobójstwo dokonane przez nacjonalistów ukraińskich na ludności polskiej Wołynia 1939-1945*□2 vols.□Warsaw□Wydawn. von borowiecky□2000□□vol.II□pp.1038□1056-7□□□Siemaszko□Ewa□'Bilans Zbrodni'□*Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej*□nos. 7-8□July-August 2010□□p.94□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Piotrowski□Tadeusz□*Vengeance of the Swallows*□Jefferson□NC□Macfarland□1995□□pp.90-91□

[20] □□□□Siemaszko and Siemaszko□esp.Professor Ryszard Szawłowski's introduction□pp.14-20□1095-1102□□□□□Tsaruk's questioning of their figures□Tsaruk□Iaroslav□*Trahediia v*

olyns’kykh sil□1943-1944 rr.□Lviv□I. Krypiakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies□2003□□pp.15-26□

[21] Rees□Laurence□*World War Two behind Closed Doors*□London□BBC Books□2008□□pp.222□236.

[22] Lane□Arthur Bliss□*I Saw Poland Betrayed□An American Ambassador Reports to the American People*□New York and Indianapolis□Bobbs-Merrill□1948□□p.66.

[23] Rees□Laurence□*World War Two behind Closed Doors*□London□BBC Books□2008□□p.236□and Lane□Arthur Bliss□*I Saw Poland Betrayed□An American Ambassador Reports to the American People*□New York and Indianapolis□Bobbs-Merrill□1948□□pp.55-88.

[24] Lane□Arthur Bliss□*I Saw Poland Betrayed□An American Ambassador Reports to the American People*□New York and Indianapolis□Bobbs-Merrill□1948□□pp.84-8.

[25] House of Commons debate□1 March 1945□Hansard□Series 5□vol.408□col.1625.

[26] Conquest□Robert□*A History of Modern Russia from Nicholas II to Putin*□London□Penguin□2003□□pp.133-4.

[27] □□Uehling□Greta Lynn□*Beyond Memory□The Crimean Tatars’Deportation and Return*□London and New York□Palgrave Macmillan□2004□□esp.pp.79-107□

[28] Snyder□Timothy□*The Reconstruction of Nations□Poland□Ukraine□Lithuania□Belarus□1569-1999*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□2003□□pp.182-7.

[29] Statiev□Alexander□*The Soviet Counterinsurgency in the Western Borderlands*□New York□Cambridge University Press□2010□□p.182.Snyder□Timothy□*The Reconstruction of Nations□Poland□Ukraine□Lithuania□Belarus□1569-1999*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□2003□□p.187.Yekelchyk□Serhy□*Ukraine□Birth of a Modern Nation*□Oxford University Press□2007□□p.147□□□□810415□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[30] Testimony of Maria Józefowska□AWK II/1999.

[31] Statiev□Alexander□*The Soviet Counterinsurgency in the Western Borderlands*□New York□Cambridge University Press□2010□□p.182□Snyder□Timothy□*The Reconstruction of Nations□Poland□Ukraine□Lithuania□Belarus□1569-1999*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□2003□□p.194□Yekelchyk□Serhy□*Ukraine□Birth of a Modern Nation*□Oxford University Press□2007□□p.147.

[32] Testimony of Henryk Jan Mielcarek□AWK II/3332.

[33] Statiev□Alexander□*The Soviet Counterinsurgency in the Western Borderlands*□New York□Cambridge University Press

ess□2010□□p.182.□□□□□the eyewitness testimony of Anna Klimasz and Rozalia Najduch□AWK I/344□

[34] Snyder□Timothy□*The Reconstruction of Nations□Poland□Ukraine□Lithuania□Belarus□1569-1999*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□2003□□p.196□Miroszewski□Kazimierz□*Centralny obóz pracy Jaworzno□Podobóz Ukraiński□1947-1949□*□Katowice□Śląsk□2001□□p.11.

[35] Wacław Kossowski□□□Snyder□Timothy□*The Reconstruction of Nations□Poland□Ukraine□Lithuania□Belarus□1569-1999*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□2003□□p.196□

[36] Misiło□*Akcja "Wisła"*□doc.42□Radkierwicz and Żymierski memo dated 16 April 1947□outlining "Special action'East'"□p.93.

[37] Misiło□*Akcja "Wisła"*□doc.44□pp.98-9□Office of State Security document dated 17 April 1947.Ryszard Szawłowski□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□his introduction to Siemaszko□Władisław and Ewa Siemaszko□*Ludobójstwo dokonane przez nacjonalistów ukraińskich na ludności polskiej Wołynia 1939-1945*□2 vols.□Warsaw□Wydawn. von borowiecky□2000□□pp.15□1096□

[38] Rozalia Najduch□interview□1990□AWK I/344.

[39] Anna Klimasz and Rozalia Najduch interview□1990□AWK I/344.

[40] Olga Zdanowicz□manuscript□AWK II/2280/p.

[41] Anna Szewczyk□Teodor Szewczyk and Mikołaj Sokacz interview□1990□AWK I/790.

[42] Miroszewski□Kazimierz□*Centralny obóz pracy Jaworzno□Podobóz Ukraiński□1947-1949□*□Katowice□Śląsk□2001□□pp.19-22.

[43] Olga Zdanowicz□manuscript□AWK II/2280/p.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Miroszewski□Kazimierz□*Centralny obóz pracy Jaworzno□Podobóz Ukraiński□1947-1949□*□Katowice□Śląsk□2001□□p.16□

[44] □□the testimony of former repatriation official Leon Dębowski□AWK II/457□

[45] Miroszewski□Kazimierz□*Centralny obóz pracy Jaworzno□Podobóz Ukraiński□1947-1949□*□Katowice□Śląsk□2001□□p.17.

[46] Anna Szewczyk□Teodor Szewczyk and Mikołaj Sokacz interview□AWK I/790.

[47] According to Anna Klimasz□AWK I/344.□□□□Karolina Hrycaj□typescript□AWK II/3404□

[48] □□“□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Uehling□Greta Lynn□*Beyond Memory□The Crimean Tatars’Deportation and Return*□London and New York□Palgrave Macmillan□2004□□esp.ch.7□

[49] Olga Zdanowicz□manuscript□AWK II/2280/p.

[illegible]

[illegible]

1945[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]……”[illegible][1]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]”[2] [illegible]1945[illegible]

[illegible]1100[illegible][3]

[illegible]1100[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[4][illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]440[illegible]125[illegible][5]

[illegible]1945[illegible]45[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Arthur Bliss Lane[illegible]1945[illegible]Wroclaw[illegible]Breslau[illegible]

> 德国人每天都被送回德国领土。显而易见的是，波兰人并不认为自己只是暂时占领弗罗茨瓦夫，他们对这座城市的占领将会得到和平会议的批准。所有德语标志牌都被移除，代之以波兰语。来自波兰各地的波兰人陆续被迁到弗罗茨瓦夫，以取代被遣送回国的德国人。[6]

[illegible][7][illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]6[illegible]274206[illegible][8]

[illegible]1945[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][9][illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]7[illegible]8[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible][10][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Anne O’Hare McCormick[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][11]

[illegible]

1945[illegible]7[illegible]1[illegible]Machuswerder[illegible]30[illegible]60[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Anna Kientopf[illegible][12][illegible]6[illegible]Landsberg[illegible]Annelore[illegible]

在这一路上，绝大多数人，只能靠在田地里捡拾谷穗，或者靠摘取路边未成熟的果实来维持生命。结果许多人都得了病。不满周岁的孩子几乎都死了。没有牛奶，甚至连妈妈熬的面汤都没有，这段旅程对那些孩子来说实在是太长了。天气也变幻无常，开始时烈日当空，后来却下起了刺骨的冰雨，这都足以致命。每天我们都往前走一点，有时候走了9公里，有一天也许只走了3公里，然后又走了20公里，甚至更多……我经常看见有人躺在路边，面色发青，大口喘气，还有人因为筋疲力尽而倒下，然后再也没有起来。

[illegible]

[illegible]

……恐怖的一幕就在我们面前上演，让我们深受震撼。四名波兰士兵企图将一名女孩从她父母手上分开，她的父母绝望地拉着她。波兰士兵用枪托击打她的父母，尤其是女孩的父亲。父亲步履蹒跚，波

兰士兵将他推到路边。父亲踉跄跌倒，一名波兰士兵拔出自动手枪，向女孩的父亲连开几枪。一时之间，周围一片死寂，然后，两个女人的尖叫划破天空。她们冲向已死的男人身旁，而那四个波兰人则扬长而去，消失在森林当中。

[illegible]·[illegible]20[illegible]40[illegible]50[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Tamsel[illegible]

我们穿过一条站满波兰士兵的小巷，人们被拉出队列。这些被迫出列的人将要带着行李去路边的农场里干活。人们不知道这意味着什么，但大家都知道这不是什么好兆头。人们拒绝服从。被迫出列的通常只是个别人，尤其是女孩。母亲拉着女孩的手痛哭流涕。士兵企图强行分开她们，但并不成功，士兵就开始用枪托和马鞭殴打这些可怜人。人们在离得很远的地方，就能听见被鞭打者的尖叫。我永远忘不了这种尖叫。

手持马鞭的波兰士兵也走到我们跟前。他们满脸通红，命令我们走出队列，走向农场。埃尔泽·米塔格（Else Mittag）和希尔德·米塔格（Hilde Mittag）开始哭泣。我说：“来吧，反抗也没用。他们会打死我们。我们事后再逃跑。”俄国人就在那里冷眼旁观。在绝望

中，我向俄国人求助。他们只是耸耸肩，对我们说，在这里波兰人说了算。就在彻底绝望的时候，我看见一名波兰高级军官。我指着我的三个孩子问道，我带着三个孩子，我还能干什么。我永远都忘不了我在绝望中所说的话，但对方只是说：“给我滚回路上去。”我们赶紧拿起行李，灰溜溜地走开……

7[illegible]6[illegible]Küstrin[illegible]Frankfurt-an-der-Oder[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]1945[illegible]6[illegible]25[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [13]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [14] [illegible]500[illegible] [15] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [16]

[illegible]1945[illegible]1946[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1946[illegible]10[illegible][17]

[illegible][18][illegible][19][illegible][20]

[illegible]

> 人群中包括男人、女人、小孩，他们都被密集地塞进车厢里，这些用来运送牲口的车厢都从外面上锁。连日来，人们就被这样运送，在格尔利茨（Görlitz）车厢才第一次被打开。我亲眼看见，在一节车厢里就有10具尸体被拖出来，扔进简易棺材。我还留意到，有好几个人已经精神错乱……人们满身粪便，这让我相信，他们被紧紧地挤在一起，以至于他们根本不可能空出一个地方来解手。[21]

[illegible]Neisse[illegible]1946[illegible]

□□□

但与我们忍受的饥饿和寒冷相比，这些波兰人的袭击其实不算什么了。整整三个星期，我们就住在车厢里，寒风、冷雨、冰雪直吹我们的面颊。可怕的漫漫长夜似乎永无尽头。我们几乎连站立的地方都不够，更加不要说坐下或者躺下了……每天早上，波兰守卫都会打开车厢门，那些没熬过昨天晚上的死人就会被抬出来。死人的数量每天都在急剧增加。有时候每天得死十个人。[22]

□□“□□”□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□Forst□□□□……□□”[23]

□□□1945□□“□□□”

□□

但当他们最终抵达尼斯河的时候，他们的希望完全破灭。那里没有人能够帮助他们。没有人能够告诉他们应该去哪里寻找庇护，或者

谁能够提供临时庇护所。他们只能听天由命，就像麻风病病人那样，被人无情地任意驱赶。[24]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1945□□□□□□·□□□-□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□□-□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

前几天到达的人，跑回来找地方栖身，他们一言不发。很快，当新来者发现自己上当受骗，或者发现自己骗了自己的时候，月台上传来梦想幻灭的哭喊。他们成群结队地站在一起，抓住或者守住自己的行李。他们蓬头垢面，他们满身污秽，浑身都是煤烟油垢。孩子看着让人心痛，他们不停地抓挠自己的身体，看上去满不在乎。老人须发蓬乱，双眼通红，仿佛吸毒成瘾，他们对周围的事物充耳不闻、熟视无睹。可以肯定的是，如果你问这些人为何他们纷纷离开柏林，估计他们多半说不上来。[25]

□□□·□□□Robert Murphy□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□“□□……□□□”[26]

□□□“□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□”□□□□

[illegible][27]

[illegible]1946[illegible]1947[illegible]1[illegible][28][illegible]

[illegible][29]

“[illegible]”[illegible]

1945[illegible]1949[illegible]700[illegible]300[illegible]180[illegible]1173[illegible][30]

[illegible]1945[illegible]11[illegible]100[illegible]320[illegible]430[illegible]300[illegible][31]

[illegible]1945[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Operation Swallow[illegible]1946[illegible]2[illegible]19

47[illegible]10[illegible]2000[illegible]Kaławska[illegible]Mariental[illegible]Alversdorf[illegible]Friedland[illegible]1946[illegible]4[illegible]6000[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][32][illegible]20[illegible]40[illegible]425[illegible]

[illegible]350[illegible]20[illegible]50[illegible]·[illegible]Lucius D.Clay[illegible]23%[illegible]·[illegible]Wilhelm Pieck[illegible]25%[illegible][33][illegible]

[illegible]Dingolfing[illegible]Sperlhammer[illegible][34]

[illegible]1950[illegible]

在与德国本土分隔许多个世代以后，这些难民甚至说着与德国本土完全不同的语言。他们不再与德国本土享有共同的习惯和传统，也不把德国视为祖国。他们无法让自己相信，自己已经永远被放逐，他们的眼神、思想和希望都停留在他们曾经生活的故乡。[35]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][36][illegible]·[illegible]Hermann Brill[illegible]“[illegible]”[37] 1946[illegible]7[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][38]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible][39]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][40]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]150[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]P

iast Path[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [41]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [42] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [43]

[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]

[illegible] [44] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1938[illegible]31780[illegible][45][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]60[illegible][46][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[47]

1946[illegible]4.4[illegible][48][illegible]7[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]6000[illegible][49][illegible]Paris Peace Conference[illegible]20[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][50]

[illegible]25[illegible]1950[illegible]14[illegible][51]

[illegible]

[illegible][52]

[1] De Zayas□Alfred□*Nemesis at Potsdam*□London□Routledge & Kegan Paul□1977□□*Nemesis*□p.42

[2] Parliamentary debate□23 February 1944□Hansard□Series 5□vol.397□col.937.

[3] Schieder□Theodor□ed.□□*Documents on the Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern-Central Europe*□trans. G. H. de Sausmarez□4 vols.□Bonn□Federal Ministry for Expellees□Refugees and War Victims□1958-60□□vol.I□*Oder-Neisse*□p.62.

[4] Rees□Laurence□*World War Two behind Closed Doors*□London□BBC Books□2008□□p.338.

[5] Schieder□Theodor□ed.□□*Documents on the Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern-Central Europe*□trans. G. H. de Sausmarez□4 vols.□Bonn□Federal Ministry for Expellees□Refugees and War Victims□1958-60□□vol.I□*Oder-Neisse*□p.62.

[6] Lane□Arthur Bliss□*I Saw Poland Betrayed□An American Ambassador Reports to the American People*□New York and Indianapolis□Bobbs-Merrill□1948□□p.185.

[7] AP Szczecin□UWS□file ref.939□“Sytuacja ludności niemieckiej na Pomorzu Zachodnim według sprawozdania sytułacyjnego pełnomocnika rządu RP na okręg Pomorze Zachodnie”□article from June 1945□pp.13-15.

[8] Centralne Archiwum Wojskove□Warsaw□IV/521/11/54□“Sprawozdanie liczbowe z akcji wysiedlania ludności niemieckiej za okres od 19 do 30 czerwca 1945 roku”.

[9] The same was true in Poland□□□Prażmowska□Anita□*Civil War in Poland 1942-1948*□Basingstoke□Palgrave Macmillan□2004□□p.182□

[10] Lane□Arthur Bliss□*I Saw Poland Betrayed□An American Ambassador Reports to the American People*□New York and Indianapolis□Bobbs-Merrill□1948□□p.153.

[11] *New York Times*□13 November 1946□p.26.

[12] □□□□□□□□·□□□□□1950□8□15□□□□□□□□□□□□□Schieder□Theodor□ed.□□*Documents on the Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern-Central Europe*□trans. G. H. de Sausmarez□4 vols.□Bonn□Federal Ministry for Expellees□Refugees and War Victims□1958-60□□vol.I□*Oder-Neisse*□doc.291□pp.289-95□

[13] Kaps□Johannes□*The Tragedie of Silesia 1945-46*□Munich□Christ Unterwegs□1952□□Reports 136 and 162□pp.405□478.

[14] Kaps□Johannes□*The Tragedie of Silesia 1945-46*□Munich□Christ Unterwegs□1952□□Reports 70□71□72 and 125□pp.260-62□379.

[15] Białecki□Tadeusz et al.□eds.□□*Źródła do dziejów Pomorza Zachodniego□Niemcy na Pomorzu Zachodnim w latach 1945-1950*□Szczecin University□2004□□docs.27 and 30□pp.64-9□71-4.

[16] □□doc.217 in Schieder□Theodor□ed.□□*Documents on the Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern-Central Europe*□trans. G. H. de Sausmarez□4 vols.□Bonn□Federal Ministry for Expellees□Refugees and War Victims□1958-60□□vol.I□*Oder-Neisse*□p.233□

[17] Instructions from the Republic of Poland's Ministry of Recovered Territories regarding the resettlement of Germans□15 January 1946□reproduced as doc.27 in Białecki□Tadeusz et al.□eds.□□*Źródła do dziejów Pomorza Zachodniego□Niemcy na Pomorzu Zachodnim w latach 1945-1950*□Szczecin University□2004□□pp.64-9.□□□□docs.21 and 30 in Białecki□Tadeusz et al.□eds.□□*Źródła do dziejów Pomorza Zachodniego□Niemcy na Pomorzu Zachodnim w latach 1945-1950*□Szczecin University□2004□□pp.57□71-4□

[18] Agreement between British and Polish representatives of the Combined Repatriation Executive□reproduced as doc.30 in Białecki□Tadeusz et al.□eds.□□*Źródła do dziejów Pomorza Zachodniego□Niemcy na Pomorzu Zachodnim w latach 1945-1950*□Szczecin University□2004□□pp.71-4.

[19] □□□□□□□□□□□□□De Zayas□Alfred□*Nemesis at Potsdam*□London□Routledge & Kegan Paul□1977□□pp.107-14□

[20] □□□□□docs.51 and 115 in Białecki□Tadeusz et al.□eds.□□*Źródła do dziejów Pomorza Zachodniego□Niemcy na Pomorzu Zachodnim w latach 1945-1950*□Szczecin University□2004□□pp.114-16□192-4□□□□□*Manchester Guardian* report□□□De Zayas□Alfred□*Nemesis at Potsdam*□London□Routledge & Kegan Paul□1977□□pp.121-2□

[21] □□Davies□Norman and Roger Moorhouse□*Microcosm*□London□Pimlico□2003□□p.422□

[22] Kaps□Johannes□*The Tragedie of Silesia 1945-46*□Munich□Christ Unterwegs□1952□□Report 51□pp.234-5.

[23] Kaps□Johannes□*The Tragedie of Silesia 1945-46*□Munich□Christ Unterwegs□1952□□Report 66□p.253.

[24] Kaps□Johannes□*The Tragedie of Silesia 1945-46*□Munich□Christ Unterwegs□1952□□Report 2□pp.128□130.

[25] Byford-Jones□W.□*Berlin Twilight*□London□Hutchinson□1947□□p.50.

[26] *Foreign Relations of the United States□FRUS□*□available online at http□//uwdc.library.wisc.edu/collections/FRUS/□1945□vol.II□pp.1291-2.

[27] *Foreign Relations of the United States□FRUS□*□available online at http□//uwdc.library.wisc.edu/collections/FRUS/□1945□vol.II□pp.1317-19.

[28] De Zayas□Alfred□*Nemesis at Potsdam*□London□Routledge & Kegan Paul□1977□□*Nemesis*□pp.122-4.

[29] □□200□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Spieler□Silke□ed.□□*Vertreibung und Vertreibungsverbrechen 1945-1948□Bericht des Bundesarchivs vom 28 Mai 1974□Archivalien und ausgewählte Erlebnisberichte*□Bonn□Bundesarchiv Koblenz & Kulturstiftung der Deutschen Vertriebenen□1989□□pp.53-4□and De Zayas□Alfred□*A Terrible Revenge□The Ethnic Cleansing of the East European Germans*□2nd edn□New York□Palgrave Macmillan□2006□□p.156□

[30] German Federal figures□□□De Zayas□Alfred□*A Terrible Revenge□The Ethnic Cleansing of the East European Germans*□2nd edn□New York□Palgrave Macmillan□2006□□p.156□

[31] Naimark□Norman□*The Russians in Germany*□Cambridge□MA□Harvard University Press□1997□□pp.148-9.

[32] Szczecin State Archives□UWS□Wydział Ogólny□sygn.231□Pismo do ob.płk Z.Bibrowskiego szefa Polskiej Misji Repatriacyjnej w Berlinie□p.29□Agreement between British and Polish representatives of the Combined Repatriation Executive□reproduced as doc.30 in Białecki□Tadeusz et al.□eds.□□*Źródła do dziejów Pomorza Zachodniego□Niemcy na Pomorzu Zachodnim w latach 1945-1950*□Szczecin University□2004□□p.72.

[33] Clay□Lucius D.□*Decision in Germany*□London□Heinemann□1950□□pp.314-15□Pieck□□□Naimark□Norman□*The Russians in Germany*□Cambridge□MA□Harvard University Press□1997□□p.149□

[34] Red Cross reports in De Zayas□Alfred□*A Terrible Revenge□The Ethnic Cleansing of the East European Germans*□2nd edn□New York□Palgrave Macmillan□2006□□pp.131-2.

[35] Clay□Lucius D.□*Decision in Germany*□London□Heinemann□1950□□p.315.

[36] Franz Hamm□□□De Zayas□Alfred□*A Terrible Revenge□The Ethnic Cleansing of the East European Germans*□2nd edn□New York□Palgrave Macmillan□2006□□p.136□

[37] □□Naimark□Norman□*The Russians in Germany*□Cambridge□MA□Harvard University Press□1997□□p.149.

[38] Naimark□Norman□*The Russians in Germany*□Cambridge□MA□Harvard University Press□1997□□p.149.

[39] Testimony of Josef Resner□□□De Zayas□Alfred□*A Terrible Revenge□The Ethnic Cleansing of the East European Germans*□2nd edn□New York□Palgrave Macmillan□2006□□p.141□

[40] Testimony of Josef Resner□□□De Zayas□Alfred□*A Terrible Revenge□The Ethnic Cleansing of the East European Germans*□2nd edn□New York□Palgrave Macmillan□2006□□p.142.□□□□Snyder□Timothy□*The Reconstruction of Nations□Poland□Ukraine□Lithuania□Belarus□1569-1999*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□2003□□p.210□

[41] Davies□Norman and Roger Moorhouse□*Microcosm*□London□Pimlico□2003□□p.447.

[42] □□H.Schampera□“Ignorowani Ślazacy”□*Res Publica*□no.6□1990□□p.9□

[43] Beneš□Edvard□*Speech delivered by President E. Beneš on the Old Town Square□Prague□on His Return to Czechoslovakia□May 16th 1945*□Prague□Orbis□1945□repr. Prague□Erika□1992□□pp.5□19.

[44] Schieder□Theodor□ed.□□*Documents on the Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern-Central Europe*□trans. G. H. de Sausmarez□4 vols.□Bonn□Federal Ministry for Expellees□Refugees and War Victims□1958-60□□vol.III□*Romania*□p.68.

[45] Janics□Kálmán□*Czechoslovak Policy and the Hungarian Minority□1945-1948*□trans. Stephen Borsody□New York□Columbia University Press□1982□□p.120.

[46] Janics□Kálmán□*Czechoslovak Policy and the Hungarian Minority□1945-1948*□trans. Stephen Borsody□New York□Columbia University Press□1982□□pp.133□177.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□tables 1-3 in Gyurgyík□László□*Changes in the Demographic Settlement and Social Structure of the Hungarian Minority in□Czecho-□Slovakia between 1918-1998*□trans. Jószef D. Lőrincz□Budapest□Teleki László Foundation□1999□□pp.38-9.

[47] *Čas*□26 February 1946□*Obzory*□11 October 1947□*Vychodoslovenská Pravda*□3 November 1946□□□Janics□Kálmán□*Czechoslovak Policy and the Hungarian Minority□1945-1948*□trans. Stephen Borsody□New York□Columbia University Press□1982□□pp.133□152□188□

[48] Janics□Kálmán□*Czechoslovak Policy and the Hungarian Minority□1945-1948*□trans. Stephen Borsody□New York□

Columbia University Press□1982□□p.172.

[49] □□□□□—□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Gyurgyík□László□*Changes in the Demographic Settlement and Social Structure of the Hungarian Minority in□Czecho-□Slovakia between 1918-1998*□trans. Jószef D. Lőrincz□Budapest□Teleki László Foundation□1999□□p.7□and Marko□Augustín and Pavol Martinický□*Slovak-Magyar Relations□History and Present Day in Figures*□Bratislava□Slovak Society for Protection of Democracy and Humanity□1995□□pp.26-7□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[50] Janics□Kálmán□*Czechoslovak Policy and the Hungarian Minority□1945-1948*□trans. Stephen Borsody□New York□Columbia University Press□1982□□pp.136-9.

[51] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□Marrus□Michael R.□*The Unwanted□European Refugees in the Twentieth Century*□New York□Oxford University Press□1985□□p.353□□□□□□□□□□□□□Proudfoot□Malcolm J.□*European Refugees 1939-52*□London□Faber & Faber□1957□□p.41□

[52] Pearson□Raymond□*National Minorities in Eastern Europe 1848-945*□London□Macmillan□1983□□p.229.

[illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]20[illegible]

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[illegible]20[illegible][2]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Yugoslavia[illegible]1918[illegible]19[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible][3][illegible]

[illegible]Jasenovac[illegible]10[illegible][4][illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Draža Mihailović[illegible]

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[illegible]1945[illegible]4[illegible]

1945[illegible]5[illegible]6[illegible][5][illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]5[illegible]15[illegible]Bleibur g[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1929[illegible]*Geneva Convention*[illegible]2.5[illegible]17.5[illegible]45[illegible]65[illegible] [6]

[illegible]1[illegible]1.2[illegible]Viktring[illegible] [7]

[illegible]Maribor[illegible]

20[illegible]60[illegible]·[illegible]John Prcela[illegible][8][illegible]20[illegible]60[illegible][9][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Stankovic[illegible][10]

[illegible]

> 一名共产党军官，通常是塞尔维亚人，但偶尔是斯洛文尼亚人，会突然大声叫喊：“杀掉那个比其他混蛋高出一头的家伙！”然后另一名军官会喊道：“杀掉那个矮子！”还有其他军官下令，干掉某个留胡子的人，或者干掉某个被脱去衬衣的人。[11]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[12]

[illegible]·[illegible]Mark Stojic[illegible][13]

[illegible]54[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]54[illegible]”[14]

[illegible]·[illegible]Franjo Krakaj[illegible]

[illegible]

大约过了20分钟，我们在马里博尔岛被赶下卡车，这里是城镇的上游。当我们临近目的地的时候，我们听到断断续续的机枪开火的声音，不时还听到几声步枪开火的声音。我们知道自己大难临头了。

当我被推下卡车的时候，我总算站稳了脚跟。于是，我能够看清楚周围的恐怖场景，就像是在20世纪看见了但丁（Dante）笔下的炼狱……吸引我注意力的是300码开外几个已经挖好的万人坑。由于里面几乎填满了尸体，我无法判断到底有多深。我估计每个万人坑也许容纳了300具尸体。在这些尸堆上面，我能看出有东西在活动，有些受害者还活着！在这恐怖的场景中，传来一声叫喊：“兄弟，杀掉我吧！给我补一枪！”我还记得这叫喊重复了好几次。坟坑里也有并未受伤的人，被层层堆叠的尸体活活闷死。他们也试图发出声响。有些受害者试图冲入树林，但游击队员朝他们开枪。

卡车又运来其他俘虏。当守卫开始把俘虏赶下车时，步枪和机枪开始枪声大作，因为这些俘虏一下车就试图挣脱。尽管我双手还被反绑，但我还能跑动。子弹打入树木，扫倒了我周围的灌木丛。我被倒

下的树枝绊到，因而向前摔倒。或许就是这下摔跤救了我的命，因为守卫明显以为我被子弹打中了，他们的注意力转到了其他方向。[15]

[illegible]

[illegible][16]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

那天晚上，游击队员把我们脱光，用电线反绑我们的双手，并且把我们每两个人捆绑在一起。然后我们就被押上卡车，前往马里博尔东面。我设法解开了双手，但仍然与另一名军官绑在一起。我们被带到一些大坑前面，里面早已堆满了尸体。游击队员开始朝我们背后射击。说时迟那时快，我自己跳到了尸堆上面。然后更多尸体压在我身上。游击队员扫射我们后就离开了，他们没有掩埋我们，因为大坑还能放下尸体。于是他们就去马里博尔寻找更多的受害者。我把自己从死亡的同伴身上解开，爬出了这个万人坑。我全身赤裸，浑身都是其

他受害者的鲜血，我很害怕，也走不远。我爬到处决地点附近的一棵树上。游击队员还来了三次，每次都带来军官和牧师，并且把他们就地枪决。日出时分，我逃脱了。[17]

[illegible]

[illegible]

当我们执行这项恶心的任务时，另一支队伍在壕沟尽头挖了一个大坑。但当我看到这个大坑里堆满尸体的时候，我也感到恐怖。因为在这个大坑里，尸体都已经僵硬甚至开始腐烂了，他们很可能已经死去多时……

直到傍晚五点，我们还在执行任务，当时又有100名囚犯被带到刚刚挖好的屠宰场。我们接到指示，准备掩埋死者。然后，这些囚犯在堆满尸体的大坑旁边站成一排。他们身上的财物被搜走。最后，这100名犯人被机枪扫射。我在100码开外目睹了这场大屠杀。某些囚犯自己跳进坑里躺平，从而躲过了机枪子弹。他们假装自己已死，但游击队员对尸体逐一检查，并且对那些怀疑未死者补上一刺刀。尖叫声响彻天际，这残酷地证明，那些躲过机枪子弹的人，还是躲不过死亡。后死者的尸体被堆在先死者的尸体上。然后，游击队员又对着大坑里的尸体开枪扫射，以确保无人生还。[18]

7.1945年南斯拉夫的屠杀地点

□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□Vladimir Žerjavić□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□5□□6□□□1945□5□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[19]

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[illegible]Podutik[illegible]6[illegible][23][illegible]Lasko[illegible]Hrastnik[illegible][24][illegible]Rifnik[illegible][25][illegible]Bezigrad[illegible][26][illegible]Istria[illegible][27]

[illegible]Kamnik[illegible]

> 他们非常沮丧，因为那帮笨蛋把我们排成一圈，然后又在我们外围排成一圈。于是，在开火的时候，他们既打中了我们，也打中了他们自己。就是因为这个愚蠢的举动，两名游击队员丢了性命，两名游击队员受了重伤。[28]

[illegible]·[illegible]Milan Zajec[illegible][29][illegible][30][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]7[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Banija[illegible]“[illegible]”[31]

[illegible]

[illegible]20[illegible]90[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][32]

[illegible]7[illegible]10[illegible]20[illegible][33][illegible]·[illegible]Dusan Vukovic[illegible]11[illegible]“[illegible]”[34][illegible][35]

[illegible]

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1979□□□□□□□·□□□□Milovan Djilas□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□2□3□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”[39]□□□“□□□□□□□□□□”[40]

□□

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[1] Report of district committee of Communist Party of Croatia in Nova Gradiška□2 June 1945□reproduced in Rupić□Mate et al□eds.□□*Partizanska i komunistička represija i zločini u Hrvatskoj 1944-1946□Dokumenti*□Slavonski Brod□Hrvatski institut za povijest□2005□□doc.52□p.151.

[2] Pavlowitch□Stevan K.□*Hitler’s New Disorder□The Second World War in Yugoslavia*□London□Hurst & Co.□2008□□pp.vii-xi.[illegible]Tomasevich’s *War and Revolution in Yugoslavia*[illegible]

[3] Pavlowitch□Stevan K.□*Hitler’s New Disorder□The Second World War in Yugoslavia*□London□Hurst & Co.□2008□□p.ix.

[4] [illegible]Žerjavić□Vladimir□*Yugoslavian Manipulations with the Number of Second World War Victims*□Zagreb□Croatian Information Centre□1993□□pp.20□29-30□Pavlowitch□Stevan K.□*Hitler’s New Disorder□The Second World War in Yugoslavia*□London□Hurst & Co.□2008□□p.34□Tomasevich□Jozo□*War and Revolution in Yu*

goslavia□Occupation and Collaboration□Stanford University Press□2001□□pp.726-8□1997□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□78163□□□□□□□□□□Croatian State Commission for Establishing Crimes of Occupying Forces and their Assistants□*Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp*□Banja Luka□Becjead□2000□□p.27□

[5] Tomasevich□Jozo□*War and Revolution in Yugoslavia□Occupation and Collaboration*□Stanford University Press□2001□□p.753.

[6] Tomasevich□Jozo□*War and Revolution in Yugoslavia□Occupation and Collaboration*□Stanford University Press□2001□□pp.757-63□Bethell□Nicholas□*The Last Secret*□London□Futura□1976□□pp.118-22.□□□□□□□□□□□□□TNA□PRO WO 170/4465□WO 106/4022 X/L 03659 □□FO 371/48918 R 8700/1728/92□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Tito’s communication with Field Marshal Alexander of 17 May 1945 in Rupić□Mate et al□eds.□□*Partizanska i komunistička represija i zločini u Hrvatskoj 1944-1946□Dokumenti*□Slavonski Brod□Hrvatski institut za povijest□2005□□doc.31□p.116□

[7] □□Alexander’s telegrams to AGWAR and AMSSO□17 May 1945□TNA□PRO FO 371/48918 R 8700/G□□□to the Combined Chiefs of Staff□TNA□PRO WO 106/4022□□□□□Bethell□Nicholas□*The Last Secret*□London□Futura□1976□□pp.131-5□147-5

5□Tomasevich□Jozo□*War and Revolution in Yugoslavia□Occupation and Collaboration*□Stanford University Press□2001□□pp. 773-4□Pavlowitch□Stevan K.□*Hitler’s New Disorder□The Second World War in Yugoslavia*□London□Hurst & Co.□2008□□p.264□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Nicolson□Nigel□*Long Life*□London□Weidenfeld & Nicolson□1997□□pp.120-22 □□testimonies by A.Markotic and Hasan Selimovic in Prcela□John and Stanko Guldescu□eds.□□*Operation Slaughterhouse□Eyewitness Accounts of Postwar Massacres in Yugoslavia*□Philadelphia□Dorrance & Co.□1970□□docs.XXIV and XXVII□pp.279□292□

[8] Prcela□John and Stanko Guldescu□eds.□□*Operation Slaughterhouse□Eyewitness Accounts of Postwar Massacres in Yugoslavia*□Philadelphia□Dorrance & Co.□1970□□*passim*.

[9] □□the testimonies gathered by Kurt W.Böhme in Maschke□Erich□ed.□□*Zur Geschichte der deutschen Kriegsgefangenen des zweiten Weltkrieges*□15 vols.□Bielefeld□Ernst & Werner Gieseking□1962-74□□vol.I□*Jugoslawien□passim*□

[10] In Prcela□John and Stanko Guldescu□eds.□□*Operation Slaughterhouse□Eyewitness Accounts of Postwar Massacres in Yugoslavia*□Philadelphia□Dorrance & Co.□1970□□doc.XIV□p.215.

[11] Account of “Ivan P.”□In Prcela□John and Stanko Guldescu□eds.□□*Operation Slaughterhouse□Eyewitness Accounts*

of Postwar Massacres in Yugoslavia□Philadelphia□Dorrance & Co.□1970□□doc.XXXIV□p.335.

[12] Account of “G.”□In Prcela□John and Stanko Guldescu□eds.□□*Operation Slaughterhouse□Eyewitness Accounts of Postwar Massacres in Yugoslavia*□Philadelphia□Dorrance & Co.□1970□□doc.LV□p.417.

[13] Account of Hasan Selimovic□In Prcela□John and Stanko Guldescu□eds.□□*Operation Slaughterhouse□Eyewitness Accounts of Postwar Massacres in Yugoslavia*□Philadelphia□Dorrance & Co.□1970□□doc.XXVII□p.294.

[14] Branko Todorovic account□25 June 1945□TNA□PRO FO 1020/2445.

[15] In Prcela□John and Stanko Guldescu□eds.□□*Operation Slaughterhouse□Eyewitness Accounts of Postwar Massacres in Yugoslavia*□Philadelphia□Dorrance & Co.□1970□□doc.XXII□pp.265-6.

[16] Accounts of M.Stankovic□Zvonomir Skok and Ante Dragosevic□In Prcela□John and Stanko Guldescu□eds.□□*Operation Slaughterhouse□Eyewitness Accounts of Postwar Massacres in Yugoslavia*□Philadelphia□Dorrance & Co.□1970□□docs.XIV□XXIII and XXVI□pp.213□274 and 289.

[17] Unnamed officer□□□Karapandzich□Boriwoje M.□*The Bloodiest Yugoslav Spring□1945□Tito’s Katyns and Gulags*□New York□Hearthstone□1980□□pp.72-3□

[18] Account of “L.Z.” in Prcela□John and Stanko Guldescu□eds.□□*Operation Slaughterhouse□Eyewitness Accounts of Postwar Massacres in Yugoslavia*□Philadelphia□Dorrance & Co.□1970□□doc.XXXII□p.325.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Kurt W. Böhme in Maschke□Erich□ed.□□*Zur Geschichte der deutschen Kriegsgefangenen des zweiten Weltkrieges*□15 vols.□Bielefeld□Ernst & Werner Gieseking□1962-74□□vol.I□*Jugoslawien*□p.108□

[19] □□Tomasevich□Jozo□*War and Revolution in Yugoslavia□Occupation and Collaboration*□Stanford University Press□2001□□pp.761□765□Pavlowitch□Stevan K.□*Hitler’s New Disorder□The Second World War in Yugoslavia*□London□Hurst & Co.□2008□□p.262□

[20] Account of “I.G.I.” in Prcela□John and Stanko Guldescu□eds.□□*Operation Slaughterhouse□Eyewitness Accounts of Postwar Massacres in Yugoslavia*□Philadelphia□Dorrance & Co.□1970□□doc.XLIV□p.375.

[21] Tomasevich□Jozo□*War and Revolution in Yugoslavia□Occupation and Collaboration*□Stanford University Press□2001□□p.774.

[22] Accounts of “I.G.I.” and “M.L.” in Prcela□John and Stanko Guldescu□eds.□□*Operation Slaughterhouse□Eyewitness Accounts of Postwar Massacres in Yugoslavia*□Philadelphia□Dorrance & Co.□1970□□docs.XLIV and XLVI□pp.375□381.

[23] Account of Ignac Jansa in Prcela□John and Stanko Guldescu□eds.□□*Operation Slaughterhouse□Eyewitness Accounts of Postwar Massacres in Yugoslavia*□Philadelphia□Dorrance & Co.□1970□□doc.XLV□pp.377-9.

[24] Report of Vladimir Zinger and others□Karapandzich□Boriwoje M.□*The Bloodiest Yugoslav Spring□1945□Tito’s Katyns and Gulags*□New York□Hearthstone□1980□□pp.91-113.Accounts of “J.F.” and “S.F.” in Prcela□John and Stanko Guldescu□eds.□□*Operation Slaughterhouse□Eyewitness Accounts of Postwar Massacres in Yugoslavia*□Philadelphia□Dorrance & Co.□1970□□docs.XLII and XLIII□pp.369-70.

[25] Kurt W.Böhme in Maschke□Erich□ed.□□*Zur Geschichte der deutschen Kriegsgefangenen des zweiten Weltkrieges*□15 vols.□Bielefeld□Ernst & Werner Gieseking□1962-74□□vol. I□*Jugoslawien*□p.108.

[26] Account of “K.L.V.” in Prcela□John and Stanko Guldescu□eds.□□*Operation Slaughterhouse□Eyewitness Accounts of Postwar Massacres in Yugoslavia*□Philadelphia□Dorrance & Co.□1970□□doc.XXXIX□p.360.

[27] Petacco□Arrigo□*A Tragedy Revealed□The Story of Italians from Istria□Dalmatia and Venezia Giulia□1943-1956*□trans. Konrad Eisenbichler□University of Toronto Press□2005□□pp.90-94.

[28] Account of “M.M.” in Prcela□John and Stanko Guldescu□eds.□□*Operation Slaughterhouse□Eyewitness Accounts of Postwar Massacres in Yugoslavia*□Philadelphia□Dorrance & Co.□1970□□doc.XXXVIII□p.358.

[29] Account of Milan Zajec in Prcela□John and Stanko Guldescu□eds.□□*Operation Slaughterhouse□Eyewitness Accounts of Postwar Massacres in Yugoslavia*□Philadelphia□Dorrance & Co.□1970□□doc.XLVII□p.385.

[30] □□□□Kurt W.Böhme in Maschke□Erich□ed.□□*Zur Geschichte der deutschen Kriegsgefangenen des zweiten Weltkrieges*□15 vols.□Bielefeld□Ernst & Werner Gieseking□1962-74□□vol.I□*Jugoslawien*□pp.107-34□□□Rupić□Mate et al□eds.□□*Partizanska i komunistička represija i zločini u Hrvatskoj 1944-1946□Dokumenti*□Slavonski Brod□Hrvatski institut za povijest□2005□□doc.87□p.249□

[31] Minutes of the first conference of the head of Odjel za zaštitu narodna for Croatia□July 1945□in Rupić□Mate et al□eds.□□*Partizanska i komunistička represija i zločini u Hrvats*

koj 1944-1946□Dokumenti□Slavonski Brod□Hrvatski institut za povijest□2005□□doc.80□p.236.

[32] Mazower□Mark□*The Balkans*□London□Weidenfeld & Nicolson□2000□□pp.143-51.

[33] Tomasevich□Jozo□*War and Revolution in Yugoslavia□Occupation and Collaboration*□Stanford University Press□2001□□p.765.□7□□□□□□□□□10□□□□466□□□□□□□□□□□10□□□22□□□□□□□□□□□□10□□□26□44□□□□□□□ch.13□Werner Ratza□□□8□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“Anzahl und Arbeitsleistungen der deutschen Kriegsgefangenen”□in Maschke□Erich□ed.□□*Zur Geschichte der deutschen Kriegsgefangenen des zweiten Weltkrieges*□15 vols.□Bielefeld□Ernst & Werner Gieseking□1962-74□□vol.XV□*Zusammenfassung*□pp.207□224-6□

[34] Account by Dusan Vukovic in Prcela□John and Stanko Guldescu□eds.□□*Operation Slaughterhouse□Eyewitness Accounts of Postwar Massacres in Yugoslavia*□Philadelphia□Dorrance & Co.□1970□□doc.LXVII□pp.461-4.

[35] Accounts of Ivan S.Skoro and Franjo Krakaj Prcela□John and Stanko Guldescu□eds.□□*Operation Slaughterhouse□Eyewitness Accounts of Postwar Massacres in Yugoslavia*□Philadelphia□Dorrance & Co.□1970□□docs.XXI and XXII□pp.258□268□□□by a Red Cross nurse□□□□Kurt W.Böhme in Maschke□Erich□ed.□□*Zur Geschichte der deutschen Kriegsgefangenen d*

es zweiten Weltkrieges□15 vols.□Bielefeld□Ernst & Werner Gieseking□1962-74□□vol.I□*Jugoslawien*□p.121□

[36] Account of postwar trial by lawyer Henri Rochat□□□Marcel Ophüls’s film documentary *Le Chagrin et la Pitié*□two parts □Laboratoires Gennevilliers for Télévision Rencontre□1969□Marcel Ophüls□□part II□“Le Choix”□

[37] Bodson□Herman□*Agent for the Resistance*□College Station□Texas A&M University Press□1994□□p.145.

[38] Report of Interior Ministry for Federative Croatia to Central Committee of the Communist Party of Croatia□10 July 1945□in Rupić□Mate et al□eds.□□*Partizanska i komunistička represija i zločini u Hrvatskoj 1944-1946□Dokumenti*□Slavonski Brod□Hrvatski institut za povijest□2005□□doc. 67□p.188.

[39] Interview in *Encounter*□vol.53□no.6□reproduced in Karapandzich□Boriwoje M.□*The Bloodiest Yugoslav Spring□1945□Tito’s Katyns and Gulags*□New York□Hearthstone□1980□□p.170.

[40] Tito□□□Djilas□*Wartime*□New York and London□Harcourt Brace Jovanovich□1977□□p.449□

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[1] Shephard□Ben□*The Long Road Home□The Aftermath of the Second World War*□London□Bodley Head□2010□□p.158□Hitchcock□William I.□*Liberation□The Bitter Road to Freedom□Europe 1944-1945*□London□Faber & Faber□2009□□pp.50-55.

[2] Hitchcock□William I.□*Liberation□The Bitter Road to Freedom□Europe 1944-1945*□London□Faber & Faber□2009□□pp.92-7.

[3] Snyder□Timothy□*The Reconstruction of Nations□Poland□Ukraine□Lithuania□Belarus□1569-1999*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□2003□□pp.186-7□Janics□Kálmán□*Czechoslovak Policy and the Hungarian Minority□1945-1948*□trans. Stephen Borsody□New York□Columbia University Press□1982□□pp.136-9.

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我们这些欧洲解放见证者都知道，共产主义者有充分理由害怕那些紧握自由不放手的人们。或许正因如此，共产主义阵营表现出某种进攻态势，决心扑灭所有建基于个人自由的政府架构。

——德怀特·艾森豪威尔，1948年[1]

[1] Eisenhower□Dwight D.□*Crusade in Europe*□London□Heinemann□1948□□p.521.

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1943[illegible]

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[1] Interview with former partisan “G.V.”□in Alessandrini□Luca□‘The Option of Violence-Partisan Activity in the Bologna Area 1945-1948’□in Jonathan Dunnage□ed.□□*After the War□Violence□Justice□Continuity and Renewal in Italian Society*□Market Harborough□Troubador□1999□□p.68.□□□□□□□□Pavone□Claudio□*Una guerra civile□Saggio storico sulla moralità nella Resistenza*□Turin□Universali Bollati Boringhieri□2006□□pp.465-6□

[2] □□Pavone□who pioneered this view□*passim*□

[3] □□□□the treatment of Trotskyist leaders Joseph Pastor and Jacques Méker□in Bourdrel□Philippe□*L’épuration sauvage*□Paris□Perrin□2001□□pp.216-27□

[4] □□Pike□David Wingeate□*Jours de gloire□jours de honte*□Paris□Société d’Édition d’Enseignement Supérieur□1984□□p.73□

[5] President Truman’s famous “Truman Doctrine” speech□□□Kennan□George F.□*Memoirs 1925-1950*□Boston and Toronto□Little□Brown□1967□□p.320□

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[illegible]

[illegible]1943[illegible]9[illegible]20[illegible]Calitri[illegible]Republic of Battocchio[illegible] [1]

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[illegible]·[illegible]Abel Bonnet[illegible]1939[illegible]1944[illegible]9[illegible]Angoulême[illegible]

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[illegible]·[illegible]Félix Sanguinetti[illegible]Armée Secrète[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][15]

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8.截至1944年8月23日法国抵抗组织独自解放的地区

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[illegible]-[illegible]Lévis-Mirepoix[illegible]Pamiers[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Ariège[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Pierre de Castelbajac[illegible]Tarbes[illegible]Croix-de-Feu[illegible][21]

[illegible][22][illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]Henri Reille-Soult[illegible]1944[illegible]10[illegible][23][illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Christian de Lorgeril[illegible]Mouvement Républicain Populaire[illegible]*L’Aube*[illegible][24]

[illegible]Milice[illegible]1944[illegible]8[illegible][25][illegible][26]

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[illegible] [27] [illegible]·[illegible]Jacques Bounin[illegible] [28]

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[illegible]1946[illegible]6[illegible]·[illegible]8[illegible]·[illegible]Ferdinando Ferioli[illegible]Casalgrande[illegible]·[illegible]Umberto Farri[illegible]·[illegible]Ferdinando Mirotti[illegible] [30]

9.1945~1946年的意大利

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[illegible][31][illegible]·[illegible]Pierre Bertaux[illegible][32][illegible]

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[illegible]·[illegible]Paul Ramadier[illegible]
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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Ministry of Ex-Servicemen[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]International Brigade[illegible] [37]

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[illegible]1947[illegible]-[illegible]·[illegible]Jules Moch[illegible]Hérault[illegible][42]

[illegible]1948[illegible]7[illegible]·[illegible][43][illegible]1948[illegible]1951[illegible]9[illegible]9.5[illegible]1.9[illegible]7000[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1948[illegible]1954[illegible]1697[illegible]884[illegible]5806[illegible]1946[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1945[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][44]

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[illegible]1/3[illegible]1945[illegible]7[illegible]“[illegible]”[45][illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible][46]

[illegible]1973[illegible]·[illegible]Pietro Secchia[illegible]

> 如今的年轻人，在阅读我们某些浪漫主义的解放战争史时，总会留下如下印象，即我们曾经拥有权力，但（由于某种未知的原因），我们不能或者不愿保持权力，不能或者不愿发动无产阶级革命，但革命根本不可能发生，即使是改良主义的民主政体亦无可能。实际上，考虑到意大利解放战争甚至欧洲解放战争的客观形势，我们（当我说“我们”的时候，我指的是所有反法西斯主义者）从未拥有权力，甚至从未能够夺取权力。[47]

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[illegible]1943[illegible]1944[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Fausto Gullo[illegible][48]

[illegible]1945[illegible]Cosenza[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible][49][illegible]

[illegible]90%[illegible][50]

[illegible]Mezzogiorno[illegible]1949[illegible]8[illegible]1943[illegible][51][illegible]Caulonia[illegible]Strongoli[illegible]Isola[illegible]Melissa[illegible]600[illegible][52]

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[1] Ginsborg□Paul□'The Communist Party and the Agrarian Question in Southern Italy□1943-1948'□*History Workshop Journal*□vol. 17□1984□□p.89.

[2] Ammendolia□Ilario□*Occupazione delle terre in Calabria 1945-1949*□Rome□Gangemi□1990□□pp.22-8.

[3] Ginsborg□Paul□'The Communist Party and the Agrarian Question in Southern Italy□1943-1948'□*History Workshop*

Journal□vol. 17□1984□□p.88.

[4] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1946□□□□□□□38%□□□Rioux□Jean-Pierre□*The Fourth Republic 1944-1958*□trans. Godfrey Rogers□Cambridge University Press□1987□□p.110□Ginsborg□Paul□‘The Communist Party and the Agrarian Question in Southern Italy□1943-1948’□*History Workshop Journal*□vol. 17□1984□□p.82□Judt□Tony□*Postwar□A History of Europe Since 1945*□London□Pimlico□2007□□pp.79□88□Hodgson□John H.□*Communism in Finland□A History and Interpretation*□Princeton University Press□1967□□p.212□

[5] Judt□Tony□*Postwar□A History of Europe Since 1945*□London□Pimlico□2007□□p.88.

[6] Party political broadcast□4 June 1945□□□Cannadine□David□ed.□□*Blood Toil Tears and Sweat□Winston Churchill’s Famous Speeches*□London□Cassell□1989□□pp.271-7□

[7] Letter□Alcide De Gasperi to Luigi Sturzo□April 1946□in De Gasperi□Maria-Romana□ed.□□*De Gasperi scrive□corrispondenza con capi di stato□cardinali□uomini politici□giornalisti□diplomatici* 2 vols.□Brescia□Morecelliana□1974□□vol.II□p.44.

[8] Telegram from State Dept to Rome Embassy□16 May 1945□□□Ellwood□David W.□*Italy 1943-1945*□Leicester Univer

sity Press□1985□□pp.184-5□

[9] Marx□Karl and Friedrich Engels□*The Communist Manifesto*□trans. Samuel Moore□Harmondsworth□Penguin□1967□□p.120.

[10] Morgan□Philip□*The Fall of Mussolini*□Oxford University Press□2008□□p.213□Dondi□Mirco□*La lunga liberazione□Giustizia e violenza nel dopoguerra italiano*□Rome□Riumiti□2004□□pp.175-6.

[11] Thorez□□□Rioux□Jean-Pierre□*The Fourth Republic 1944-1958*□trans. Godfrey Rogers□Cambridge University Press□1987□□p.55□Novick□Peter□*The Holocaust and Collective Memory*□London□Bloomsbury□2000□□pp.74-5□

[12] □□Dondi□Mirco□*La lunga liberazione□Giustizia e violenza nel dopoguerra italiano*□Rome□Riumiti□2004□□p.175□

[13] □□Novick□Peter□*The Holocaust and Collective Memory*□London□Bloomsbury□2000□□p.76□Bourdrel□Philippe□*L'épuration sauvage*□Paris□Perrin□2001□□pp.679-84□

[14] Bourdrel□Philippe□*L'épuration sauvage*□Paris□Perrin□2001□□pp.486-9.

[15] Bourdrel□Philippe□*L'épuration sauvage*□Paris□Perrin□2001□□pp.489-90.

[16] Veyret□Patrick□*Lyon 1939-1949□De la collaboration industrielle à l’épuration économique*□Châtillon-sur-Chalaronne□La Taillanderie□2008□□p.194.

[17] Report in telegram□Kirk to State Department□28 May 1945□□□Ellwood□David W.□*Italy 1943-1945*□Leicester University Press□1985□□p.186□

[18] Dondi□Mirco□*La lunga liberazione□Giustizia e violenza nel dopoguerra italiano*□Rome□Riumiti□2004□□pp.168□176.

[19] Dondi□Mirco□*La lunga liberazione□Giustizia e violenza nel dopoguerra italiano*□Rome□Riumiti□2004□□p.157.

[20] *L’Unità*□24 February 1953□□□□□Alessandrini□Luca□‘The Option of Violence-Partisan Activity in the Bologna Area 1945-1948’□in Jonathan Dunnage□ed.□□*After the War□Violence□Justice□Continuity and Renewal in Italian Society*□Market Harborough□Troubador□1999□□pp.65-6□Morgan□Philip□*The Fall of Mussolini*□Oxford University Press□2008□□p.211□□□Pansa□Giampaolo□*Il sangue dei vinti*□Milan□Sperling□2005□□p.258□

[21] Bertaux□Pierre□*Libération de Toulouse et de sa région*□Paris□Hachette□1973□□pp.63-6□Bourdrel□Philippe□*L’épuration sauvage*□Paris□Perrin□2001□□p.571.

[22] Aron□Robert□*Histoire de l’épuration□De l’indulgence aux massacres□Novembre 1942-Septembre 1944*□Paris□Fayard□1967□□p.564.

[23] Aron□Robert□*Histoire de l’épuration□De l’indulgence aux massacres□Novembre 1942-Septembre 1944*□Paris□Fayard□1967□□p.564.

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[25] □□□□the treatment of various priests in Toulouse and Perpignan in Bourdrel□Philippe□*L’épuration sauvage*□Paris□Perrin□2001□□pp.546-7□559-60□573□

[26] □□□□the killing of the priest Umberto Pessina in Emilia-Romagna on 18 June 1946□Dondi□Mirco□*La lunga liberazione□Giustizia e violenza nel dopoguerra italiano*□Rome□Riumiti□2004□□pp.176-7□

[27] Bertaux□Pierre□*Libération de Toulouse et de sa région*□Paris□Hachette□1973□□pp.22-4.

[28] Bourdrel□Philippe□*L’épuration sauvage*□Paris□Perrin□2001□□pp.523-4.

[29] Dondi□Mirco□*La lunga liberazione□Giustizia e violenza nel dopoguerra italiano*□Rome□Riumiti□2004□□pp.168-9.

[30] Dondi□Mirco□*La lunga liberazione□Giustizia e violenza nel dopoguerra italiano*□Rome□Riumiti□2004□□pp.174-7.

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[32] Bertaux□Pierre□*Libération de Toulouse et de sa région*□Paris□Hachette□1973□□pp.109-10.

[33] American intelligence report by AFHQ Operations Division□□□Ellwood□David W.□*Italy 1943-1945*□Leicester University Press□1985□□p.187□

[34] Jonathan Dunnage□"Policing and Politics in the Southern Italian Community□1943-1948"□in Dunnage□Jonathan□ed.□□*After the War□Violence□Justice□Continuity and Renewal in Italian Society*□Market Harborough□Troubador□1999□□pp.34-40.

[35] Morgan□Sarah□'The Schio Killings□A Case Study of Partisan Violence in Postwar Italy'□*Modern Italy*□vol. 5□no. 2□2000□□pp.148□158.

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[37] Rioux□Jean-Pierre□*The Fourth Republic 1944-1958*□trans. Godfrey Rogers□Cambridge University Press□1987□□pp.123-5.

[38] Ambassador Caffery to Secretary of State□19 February 1947□*Foreign Relations of the United States□FRUS□*□available online at http□//uwdc.library.wisc.edu/collections/FRUS/□1947□vol.III□p.691.

[39] Acheson□□□Rioux□Jean-Pierre□*The Fourth Republic 1944-1958*□trans. Godfrey Rogers□Cambridge University Press□1987□□p.113□

[40] Ambassador Dunn to Secretary of State□7 May 1947 and 18 June 1947□*Foreign Relations of the United States□FRUS□*□available online at http□//uwdc.library.wisc.edu/collections/FRUS/□1947□vol.III□pp.900□924.

[41] *Foreign Relations of the United States□FRUS□*□available online at http□//uwdc.library.wisc.edu/collections/FRUS/□1948□vol.III□pp.853-4.

[42] Rioux□Jean-Pierre□*The Fourth Republic 1944-1958*□trans. Godfrey Rogers□Cambridge University Press□1987□□pp.129-30.

[43] “Blood on the Cobblestones”□*Time* magazine□26 July 1948.

[44] Alessandrini□Luca□‘The Option of Violence-Partisan Activity in the Bologna Area 1945-1948’□in Jonathan Dunnage□ed.□□*After the War□Violence□Justice□Continuity and Renewal in Italian Society*□Market Harborough□Troubador□1999□□p.64□Dondi□Mirco□*La lunga liberazione□Giustizia e violenza nel dopoguerra italiano*□Rome□Riumiti□2004□□p.180.

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[48] Ginsborg□Paul□'The Communist Party and the Agrarian Question in Southern Italy□1943-1948'□*History Workshop Journal*□vol. 17□1984□□pp.91-2.

[49] Ginsborg□Paul□'The Communist Party and the Agrarian Question in Southern Italy□1943-1948'□*History Workshop Journal*□vol. 17□1984□□p.94.

[50] Ginsborg□Paul□'The Communist Party and the Agrarian Question in Southern Italy□1943-1948'□*History Workshop Journal*□vol. 17□1984□□p.96.

[51] Ammendolia□Ilario□*Occupazione delle terre in Calabria 1945-1949*□Rome□Gangemi□1990□□p.39.

[52] Ammendolia□Ilario□*Occupazione delle terre in Calabria 1945-1949*□Rome□Gangemi□1990□□pp.45-9.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1944[illegible]10[illegible]9[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]90%[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]10%[illegible]75%[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]25%[illegible]50%[illegible]90%[illegible]10%[illegible][1]

[illegible]30[illegible]

*

[illegible]1941[illegible]1944[illegible]10[illegible]

[illegible]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□National Liberation Front□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Greek People’s Liberation Army□□ [2] □□□ [3]

□□□10%□□□1944□10□□□ [4]

□□1944□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□Thanasis Hadzis□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□” [5] □□

□□·□□□Ronald Scobie□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□”□ [6]

□□1944□10□□□□□·□□□□□□George Papandreou□□□“□□□□□□”□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□Panagiotis Spiliotopoulos□□[7] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□……□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[8]

10.1994年游击队控制下的希腊部分地区

12[illegible]National Guard[illegible]·[illegible]George Theotokas[illegible]“[illegible]”[9]

12[illegible]3[illegible]Syntagma Square[illegible]10[illegible]50[illegible][10][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][11][illegible]25[illegible]Kaisariani[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Kypseli[illegible]“[illegible]”[12]

[illegible]1944[illegible]12[illegible]1945[illegible]1[illegible]

[illegible]1.5[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][13]

[illegible]1945[illegible]1[illegible]2[illegible]Varkiza[illegible]1944[illegible]12[illegible]3[illegible]1945[illegible]2[illegible]14[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][14]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible][15][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1944[illegible]·[illegible]Chris Woodhouse[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][16][illegible]

[illegible]1944[illegible]4[illegible]Roumeli[illegible]·[illegible]Dimitrios Psarros[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]National and Social Liberation[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Security Battalions[illegible]

[illegible][17][illegible]National Republican Greek League[illegible]·[illegible]Napoleon Zervas[illegible][18]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible][19][illegible]“ELAS”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Ελλάς[illegible][20]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[21][illegible]Evros[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[22][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][23]

[illegible]·[illegible]Aris Velouchiotis[illegible]1942

[illegible]Kleitso[illegible][24]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][25]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][26][illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Theodoros Zengos[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][27][illegible]1944[illegible]2[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][28]

[illegible][29][illegible]Heli[illegible]60[illegible]80[illegible][30]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Leonidas Vrettakos[illegible]1943[illegible][31][illegible]“[illegible]”[32]

1943[illegible]1944[illegible]

[illegible]

> *希腊人民解放军终于发现他们的真正敌人，原来是右翼武装……希腊人民解放军对右翼武装充满敌意，希腊人民解放军许多最恶劣的暴行都是针对保安营战俘及其家人的，他们通常会被移送到集中营。希腊人民解放军对保安营的怒火与日俱增，而保安营也证明自己同样擅长恐吓和恐怖的艺术。*[33]

[illegible]EASAD[illegible]Volos[illegible][34][illegible]·[illegible]George Poulos[illegible]Giannitsa[illegible]75[illegible][35]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][36]

[illegible]

[illegible]Doris[illegible]Papadimitriou[illegible]·[illegible]Stathis N.Kalyvas[illegible][37]

1942[illegible]·[illegible]Vassilis Doris[illegible]·[illegible]Vassiliki Papadimitriou[illegible]Douka[illegible]Sotiris[illegible]

[illegible]1944[illegible]7[illegible]·[illegible]Feneos[illegible]20[illegible]

[illegible]Nikos[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]1945[illegible]4[illegible]12[illegible]·[illegible]Panayotis Kostakis[illegible]6[illegible]1946[illegible]2[illegible]Yorgos[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]1947[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1944[illegible]12[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Trikala[illegible] [38]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [39] [illegible]1192[illegible]6413[illegible]159[illegible] [40] [illegible] [41] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]-[illegible]”[illegible] [42]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1946[illegible]3[illegible] [43]

[illegible]1946[illegible]3[illegible]1946[illegible]9[illegible]3[illegible] [44] [illegible]

[illegible]1946[illegible]Democratic Army of Greece[illegible] [45]

[illegible]1948[illegible]1949[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]1945[illegible]9[illegible]7[illegible]1[illegible]1948[illegible]25[illegible]4[illegible] [46] [illegible]1946[illegible]7[illegible]1949[illegible]9[illegible]100[illegible] [47]

[illegible]1945[illegible]48956[illegible]20[illegible]40[illegible]5[illegible] [48] [illegible]Makronisos[illegible]1950[illegible]20219[illegible]3406[illegible] [49] [illegible]20[illegible]60[illegible] [50]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]25[illegible]1967[illegible]1974[illegible]

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□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1947□6□□□□“□□□□□”□European Recovery Programme□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□George Marshall□□□□□□□“□□□□□”□Marshall Plan□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□[54] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[55]

□□“□□□□”□□16□□□□□□□□□□

[illegible]

[illegible]-[illegible]Szklarska Poręba[illegible][56] [illegible]Communist Information Bureau[illegible]Cominform[illegible]1947[illegible][57]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[1] [illegible]Dallas[illegible]Gregor[illegible]*Poisoned Peace[illegible]1945-The War that Never Ended*[illegible]London[illegible]John Murray[illegible]2006[illegible]pp.285-94[illegible]

[2] EAM stands for Ethniko Apeleftherotiko Metopo[illegible]ELAS for Ethnikos Laikos Apeleftherotikos Stratos.

[3] Mazower[illegible]Mark[illegible]*Inside Hitler’s Greece*[illegible]New Haven and London[illegible]Yale University Press[illegible]1995[illegible]pp.140-42.

[4] Michael S.Macrakis[illegible]“Russian Mission on the Mountains of Greece[illegible]Summer 1944[illegible]A View from the Ranks[illegible]”[illegible]*Journ*

al of Contemporary History□vol.23□no.3□pp.387-408□Mazower□Mark□*Inside Hitler's Greece*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□1995□□pp.296□359-60.

[5] □□Mazower□Mark□*Inside Hitler's Greece*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□1995□□pp.295-6□

[6] TNA□PRO WO 204/8832□SACMED to Scobie□15 November 1944.□□□□Churchill to Eden□7 November 1944□TNA□PRO FO 371/43695□Alexander□p.66□

[7] Mazower□Mark□*Inside Hitler's Greece*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□1995□□pp.364□413 fn.24.

[8] Iatrides John O.□ed.□□*Ambassador MacVeagh Reports□Greece 1933-1947*□Princeton University Press□1980□□p.660.

[9] □□Mazower□Mark□*Inside Hitler's Greece*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□1995□□p.362□

[10] □□Mazower□Mark□*Inside Hitler's Greece*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□1995□□p.352.

[11] TNA□PRO PREM 3 212/11□Churchill's order to Scobie□5 December 1944□□□Clogg□Richard□ed.□□*Greece 1940-1949□Occupation□Resistance□Civil War□A Documentary History*□Basingstoke□Palgrave Macmillan□2002□□p.187□

[12] TNA□PRO WO 170/4049□“Report on Visit to Greek Red Cross F.A.P.□Platia Kastalia□Kypseli□12 Dec 1944”□report by Ambassador Lincoln MacVeagh□6 December 1944 in Iatrides John O.□ed.□□*Ambassador MacVeagh Reports□Greece 1933-1947*□Princeton University Press□1980□□p.658.

[13] □□the many reports of ELAS hostages in TNA□PRO FO 996/1□□□□□WO 204/8301□“Account of military and political events in Western Greece during the independent mission of 11 Ind Inf Bde GP”□esp.appendix C.10□WO 204/9380□“Report by Captain WE Newton on a visit to Kokkenia on 12th January 1945”□

[14] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Richter□Heinz□*British Intervention in Greece□From Varkiza to Civil War*□London□Merlin Press□1985□□pp.561-4□□□Woodhouse□C. M.□*Apple of Discord*□London□Hutchinson□1948□□pp.308-10□

[15] □□Mazower□Mark□*Inside Hitler’s Greece*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□1995□□pp.271□279-84□

[16] Woodhouse□C. M.□*Apple of Discord*□London□Hutchinson□1948□□p.147.

[17] Woodhouse□C. M.□*Apple of Discord*□London□Hutchinson□1948□□pp.84-6□Mazower□Mark□*Inside Hitler’s Greece*

□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□1995□□pp.318□325.EKKA stands for Ethniki Kai Koinoniki Apeleftherosi.

[18] □□Hagen Fleischer□“Contacts between German Occupation Authorities and the Major Greek Resistance Organizations”□in Iatrides□John O.□ed.□□*Greece in the 1940s□A Nation in Crisis*□Hanover and London□University Press of New England□1981□□pp.54-6□□□Mazower□Mark□*Inside Hitler’s Greece*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□1995□□pp.142□329-30. EDES stands for Ethnikos Dimokratikos Ellinikos Syndesmos□

[19] EAM member Konstantinos G.Karsaros□□□Kalyvas□Stathis N.□‘Red Terror□Leftist Violence during the Occupation’□in Mark Mazower□ed.□□*After the War Was Over*□Princeton and Oxford□Princeton University Press□2000□□p.171□

[20] Mazower□Mark□*Inside Hitler’s Greece*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□1995□□p.290.

[21] Odysseus□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□

[22] Telemachus□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□

[23] Mazower□Mark□*Inside Hitler’s Greece*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□1995□□pp.318-20.

[24] John Sakkas□“The Civil War in Evrytania”□in Mazower□Mark□ed.□□*After the War Was Over*□Princeton and Oxfor

d□Princeton University Press□2000□□p.194.

[25] Kalyvas□Stathis N.□‘Red Terror□Leftist Violence during the Occupation’□in Mark Mazower□ed.□□*After the War Was Over*□Princeton and Oxford□Princeton University Press□2000□□pp.161-2.

[26] Kalyvas□Stathis N.□‘Red Terror□Leftist Violence during the Occupation’□in Mark Mazower□ed.□□*After the War Was Over*□Princeton and Oxford□Princeton University Press□2000□□pp.157□159.

[27] Kalyvas□Stathis N.□‘Red Terror□Leftist Violence during the Occupation’□in Mark Mazower□ed.□□*After the War Was Over*□Princeton and Oxford□Princeton University Press□2000□□pp.148□163.

[28] *Odigitis*□8 February 1944□□□Kalyvas□Stathis N.□‘Red Terror□Leftist Violence during the Occupation’□in Mark Mazower□ed.□□*After the War Was Over*□Princeton and Oxford□Princeton University Press□2000□□p.157□

[29] Kalyvas□Stathis N.□‘Red Terror□Leftist Violence during the Occupation’□in Mark Mazower□ed.□□*After the War Was Over*□Princeton and Oxford□Princeton University Press□2000□□pp.153□159.

[30] Kalyvas□Stathis N.□‘Red Terror□Leftist Violence during the Occupation’□in Mark Mazower□ed.□□*After the War Was Over*□Princeton and Oxford□Princeton University Press□2000□□p.154.

[31] Mazower□Mark□*Inside Hitler’s Greece*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□1995□□p.327.

[32] Kalyvas□Stathis N.□‘Red Terror□Leftist Violence during the Occupation’□in Mark Mazower□ed.□□*After the War Was Over*□Princeton and Oxford□Princeton University Press□2000□□p.151.

[33] TNA□PRO HS 5/698“General Report”□pp.8-9.

[34] EASAD stands for Ethnikos Agrotikos Syndesmos Antikommounistikis Draseos.

[35] Mazower□Mark□*Inside Hitler’s Greece*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□1995□□pp.334-9.

[36] TNA□PRO FO 188/438□“Summary of a Letter dated Athens 22nd November 1944 from Mr Justice Sandström□Chairman of the Greek Relief Commission to the Supervisory Board of the Swedish Red Cross”.

[37] The following example from Douka is dissected in greater detail by Kalyvas□Stathis N.□‘Red Terror□Leftist Violence during the Occupation’□in Mark Mazower□ed.□□*After the*

War Was Over□Princeton and Oxford□Princeton University Press□2000□□pp.171-5.

[38] Mazower□Mark□*Inside Hitler’s Greece*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□1995□□p.373.

[39] □□report of Charles F.Edson□to Lincoln MacVeagh□29 March 1945□□□Clogg□Richard□ed.□□*Greece 1940-1949□Occupation□Resistance□Civil War□A Documentary History*□Basingstoke□Palgrave Macmillan□2002□□p.192□

[40] Voglis□Polymeris□‘Between Negation and Self-Negation□Political Prisoners in Greece□1945-1950’□in Mark Mazower□ed.□□*After the War Was Over*□Princeton and Oxford□Princeton University Press□2000□□p.75.

[41] □□reports by Charles F.Edson to Lincoln MacVeagh□29 March and 4 July 1945□□□Clogg□Richard□ed.□□*Greece 1940-1949□Occupation□Resistance□Civil War□A Documentary History*□Basingstoke□Palgrave Macmillan□2002□□pp.192□196□□□Woodhouse report□□□Richter□Heinz□*British Intervention in Greece□From Varkiza to Civil War*□London□Merlin Press□1985□□pp.148-50□

[42] Democratic Army of Greece radio proclamation to the Greek people□24 December 1947□□□Clogg□Richard□ed.□□*Greece 1940-1949□Occupation□Resistance□Civil War□A*

Documentary History□Basingstoke□Palgrave Macmillan□2002□□p.205□

[43] □□report by Charles F.Edson to Lincoln MacVeagh□4 July 1945□□□Clogg□Richard□ed.□□*Greece 1940-1949□Occupation□Resistance□Civil War□A Documentary History*□Basingstoke□Palgrave Macmillan□2002□□pp.195-6□

[44] □□Mark Mazower’s introduction in Mazower□Mark□ed.□□*After the War Was Over*□Princeton and Oxford□Princeton University Press□2000□□p.11□

[45] □□Mark Mazower’s introduction in Mazower□Mark□ed.□□*After the War Was Over*□Princeton and Oxford□Princeton University Press□2000□□p.7□

[46] Eleni Haidia□“The Punishment of Collaborators in Northern Greece□1945-1946”□Mark Mazower’s introduction in Mazower□Mark□ed.□□*After the War Was Over*□Princeton and Oxford□Princeton University Press□2000□□p.54.

[47] □□□□□□□□□1946□□1949□□□□3033□□□□□□□□□□□□□□378□□□□□□□□□□□□□□3411□□□□TNA□PRO FO 371/87668 RG10113/11□Athens to Foreign Office□6 April 1950□

[48] P.Papastratis□“The Purge of the Greek Civil Service on the Eve of the Civil War”□in Baerentzen□L.□J. Iatrides and O. Smith□eds.□□*Studies in the History of the Greek Civil Wa*

r□*1945-1949*□Copenhagen□Museum Tusculanum□1987□□p.46.□□□□Mark Mazower□“Three Forms of Political Justice□Greece 1944-1945”□in Mazower□Mark□ed.□□*After the War Was Over*□Princeton and Oxford□Princeton University Press□2000□□pp.37-8□

[49] TNA□PRO FO 371/87668□RG 10113/28.Voglis□□□□□□□□□□Voglis□Polymeris□‘Between Negation and Self-Negation□Political Prisoners in Greece□1945-1950’□in Mark Mazower□ed.□□*After the War Was Over*□Princeton and Oxford□Princeton University Press□2000□□p.75□

[50] Mazower□Mark□*Inside Hitler’s Greece*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□1995□□p.376.

[51] Mazower□Mark□*Inside Hitler’s Greece*□New Haven and London□Yale University Press□1995□□p.376.

[52] □□George F.Kennan’s statement to the War College□28 March 1947□Kennan□George F.□*Memoirs 1925-1950*□Boston and Toronto□Little□Brown□1967□□pp.318-20□

[53] Truman□Harry S.□*Memoirs*□vol. II□*Years of Trial and Hope*□New York□Signet□1965□□p.129.

[54] George Marshall’s speech at Harvard□5 June 1947□□□Truman□Harry S.□*Memoirs*□vol. II□*Years of Trial and Hope*□New York□Signet□1965□□p.138□□□□□Rioux□Jean-Pierre□*The*

Fourth Republic 1944-1958□trans. Godfrey Rogers□Cambridge University Press□1987□□p.114□

[55] □□Milward□Alan S.□*The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945-51*□London□Methuen□1984□□pp.5□56-61□

[56] Communist International□□□Comintern□□□□□□1943□□□□□□——□□□

[57] Judt□Tony□*Postwar□A History of Europe Since 1945*□London□Pimlico□2007□□p.143.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Rioux□Jean-Pierre□*The Fourth Republic 1944-1958*□trans. Godfrey Rogers□Cambridge University Press□1987□□pp.129-30□“Blood on the Cobblestones”□*Time* magazine□26 July 1948□*Foreign Relations of the United States□FRUS□*□available online at http□//uwdc.library.wisc.edu/collections/FRUS/□1948□vol.III□Western Europe□□pp.853-4□

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[illegible]·[illegible]Teohari Georgescu[illegible]16[illegible]9[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Siguranţa[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [13]

[illegible]1945[illegible]·[illegible]2[illegible]13[illegible]*Scînteia*[illegible]Prahova[illegible]Dâmboviţa[illegible] [14]

[illegible]2[illegible]24[illegible]·[illegible]Ana Pauker[illegible]·[illegible]Vasile Luca[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [15] [illegible]

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[illegible]1945[illegible]2[illegible]27[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]2[illegible]28[illegible]1945[illegible]3[illegible]6[illegible]

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[illegible]1945[illegible]1[illegible]10[illegible]*Curierul*[illegible]*Democratul*[illegible]2[illegible]17[illegible]18[illegible]*Viitorul*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Donald Stevenson[illegible] [19]

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> 集会并不自由，在政府尤其是内政部的承认和容许下，武装团体组建完毕。这些团体袭击公共集会以及反对党领导人；他们打死、打残、打伤政府的反对者。他们拥有自动武器。他们使用铁管、刀剑、棍棒；他们领取薪水；绝大多数入伙者都有犯罪记录。他们犯下的暴行不仅完全免于起诉，就算犯下谋杀案也能逍遥法外，他们的行动得到警察和宪兵的保护。[22]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[23]

[illegible]1946[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Bloc of Democratic Parties[illegible]70%[illegible]84%[illegible]12.7%[illegible]7.7%[illegible][24][illegible]Someş[illegible]1

1%[illegible]51%[illegible][25]

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[illegible]1950[illegible]1060[illegible]90%[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]State Planning Commission[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Five Year Plan[illegible] [31]

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[1] Cedric Salter□interview with King Michael of Romania□*Daily Express*□23 November 1944.[illegible]*New York Times*□27 August 1944□p.12□Deletant□Dennis□*Communist Terror in Romania□Gheorghiu-Dej and the Police State□1948-1965*□London□Hurst & Co.□1999□□pp.46-50□Ionescu□Ghita□*Communism in Rumania□1944-1962*□London□Oxford University Press□1964□□pp.83-4□

[2] Declaration of the new Romanian government□23 August 1944□*Foreign Relations of the United States□FRUS□*□available online at http□//uwdc.library.wisc.edu/collections/FRUS/□1944□vol.IV□p.191.

[3] Deletant□Dennis□*Communist Terror in Romania□Gheorghiu-Dej and the Police State□1948-1965*□London□Hurst & Co.□1999□□pp.36-7□49.

[4] [illegible]TNA□PRO WO 201/1602□

[5] Ionescu□Ghita□*Communism in Rumania□1944-1962*□London□Oxford University Press□1964□□p.88□Hitchins□Keith□*Rumania 1866-1947*□Oxford University Press□1994□□pp.502-5.

[6] Deletant□Dennis□*Communist Terror in Romania□Gheorghiu-Dej and the Police State□1948-1965*□London□Hurst & Co.□1999□□p.59.

[7] *Daily Express*□23 November 1944.

[8] *Daily Express*□23 November 1944. and TNA□PRO WO 201/1602□digest of OSS reports sent from Foreign Office to Minister Resident□Cairo□16 September 1944.

[9] Ionescu□Ghita□*Communism in Rumania□1944-1962*□London□Oxford University Press□1964□□p.98□Deletant□Dennis□*Communist Terror in Romania□Gheorghiu-Dej and the Police State□1948-1965*□London□Hurst & Co.□1999□□p.57.

[10] Ionescu□Ghita□*Communism in Rumania□1944-1962*□London□Oxford University Press□1964□□p.103□Deletant□Dennis□*Communist Terror in Romania□Gheorghiu-Dej and the Police State□1948-1965*□London□Hurst & Co.□1999□□pp.56-9.

[11] Deletant□Dennis□*Communist Terror in Romania□Gheorghiu-Dej and the Police State□1948-1965*□London□Hurst

& Co.□1999□□pp.59-60.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□James Marjoribanks’ minute to the Foreign Office on 2 December 1944□TNA□PRO FO 371/48547□

[12] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□the report by the Chief of Polish Intelligence□1 February 1945□reproduced in Giurescu□Dinu C.□*Romania in the Second World War□1939-1945□*□trans. Eugenia Elena Popescu□New York□Columbia University Press□2000□□doc.1□pp.134-44□

[13] Deletant□Dennis□*Communist Terror in Romania□Gheorghiu-Dej and the Police State□1948-1965*□London□Hurst & Co.□1999□□pp.61-3□□□in particular the quotation of Georgescu’s telegram to regional prefects “not to carry out orders...given by General Rădescu□who has proved himself by his dictatorial action to be the enemy of our people”□

[14] Deletant□Dennis□*Communist Terror in Romania□Gheorghiu-Dej and the Police State□1948-1965*□London□Hurst & Co.□1999□□pp.63-4.

[15] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Giurescu□Dinu C.□*Romania in the Second World War□1939-1945□*□trans. Eugenia Elena Popescu□New York□Columbia University Press□2000□□doc.4□pp.174-5□□□□□Judt□Tony□*Postwar□A History of Europe Since 1945*□London□Pimlico□2007□□p.135□

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ton□DC□Rumanian National Committee□1949□□and Deletant□Dennis□*Communist Terror in Romania□Gheorghiu-Dej and the Police State□1948-1965*□London□Hurst & Co.□1999□□pp. 88-113□

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[illegible]·[illegible]Walter Ulbricht[illegible]“[illegible]”[1]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][2] 1948[illegible]2[illegible]·[illegible]Klement Gottwald[illegible][3] [illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]Home Army[illegible][4][illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][5]

[illegible]1945[illegible]1000[illegible]Smallholders Party[illegible]57.5%[illegible][6]

[illegible]·[illegible]Ferenc Nagy[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][7][illegible]1948[illegible]2[illegible]·[illegible]Václav Nosek[illegible][8][illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Yrjö Leino[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1945[illegible]12[illegible]45%[illegible]60%[illegible] [9]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1944[illegible]9[illegible]Fatherland Front[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]People’s Courts[illegible]1112 2[illegible]1/4[illegible]2618[illegible]1046[illegible]3000[illegible]18000[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [10]

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[illegible]1948[illegible]2[illegible]·[illegible][15] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][16]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]16[illegible]1945[illegible]3[illegible]·[illegible]Krustu Pastuhov[illegible]1946[illegible]3[illegible]·[illegible]Dragoljub Jovanović[illegible]1947[illegible]10[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1946[illegible]38%[illegible][17][illegible]1945[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][18][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Jan Masaryk[illegible]1948[illegible]3[illegible][19][illegible]·[illegible]Nikola Petkov[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Aleksandar Ranković[illegible]1945[illegible]47%[illegible][20]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1948[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Władysław Gomułka[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Koçi Xoxe[illegible]·[illegible]Traicho Kostov[illegible]20[illegible]40[illegible]50[illegible]1948[illegible]1953[illegible]950[illegible]130[illegible]70[illegible]7%[illegible] [22]

[illegible]20[illegible]20[illegible]90[illegible]·[illegible]Georgi Dimitrov[illegible] [23]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [24] [illegible]

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“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1939[illegible]1940[illegible]

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芬兰
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塔林
科赫特拉耶尔韦
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考特拉
希乌马岛
爱沙尼亚
派尔努河
佩普西湖
萨雷马岛
母亲河
俄国
派尔努
维尔扬迪
塔尔图
波罗的海
里加湾
利沃尼亚
佩尔森
普斯科夫
文茨皮尔斯
瓦尔米耶拉
采西斯
拉脱维亚
阿伯热内
尤尔马拉
里加
奥格雷
马多纳
利耶帕亚
拉特盖尔
叶尔加瓦
道加瓦河
雷泽克内
马热伊基艾
米尼亚河
希奥利艾
克莱佩达
陶格夫匹尔斯
扎拉赛
帕涅韦日斯
尼维斯河
立陶宛
凯代尼艾
尤尔巴尔卡斯
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阿利图斯
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100千米
战后立陶宛获得的领土
拉脱维亚和爱沙尼亚失去的领土
森林

11. 波罗的海国家

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1945□5□16□□□400□□20□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Žuvintas□□□□□□44□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

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[illegible]20[illegible]40[illegible]50[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]18%[illegible][8] [illegible]·[illegible]George Orwell[illegible]1984[illegible]·[illegible]Eleonora Labanauskienė[illegible]50[illegible][9] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]20[illegible]40[illegible][10]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1945[illegible]1[illegible]25[illegible]5[illegible]

[illegible] [11] [illegible]

[illegible] ·[illegible] Juozas Lukša [illegible] “[illegible]” [illegible] [12]

[illegible] “[illegible]”[illegible] [13]

[illegible] [14] [illegible] 1945 [illegible] 8 [illegible] 1 [illegible] Lipin [illegible] Šiauliai [illegible] Švendriai [illegible]

列兵亚宁从房子外面放了一把火。一个老太太冲出房子，身后还跟着一个女孩，里宾喝令她们回去。老太太和女孩开始奔跑。里宾掏出手枪向她们射击，但都没打中。一个士兵一枪放倒了老太太，里宾追上女孩，近距离补了一枪。然后，他下令两个士兵把尸体从窗户扔进房子。士兵们提起老太太的双手和双脚，把她扔进了正在燃烧的房子，然后把女孩的尸体也扔了进去。很快，一个老头和他的大儿子从另一个门口冲出房子。士兵开火，但又没打中。然后，我和另外两个士兵奉命追杀老头的儿子，但我们抓不到他，天黑了，他逃了。在走回房子的路上，我们开始搜索黑麦田。我们发现了那个老头，他受了伤，正在爬过黑麦田。一个士兵结果了他，我们把尸体扔到房子里……

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][15]

[illegible]

[illegible]1946[illegible][16]

[illegible]1945[illegible]1946[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]·[illegible]Juozas Markulis[illegible]General Democratic Resistance Movement[illegible][17]

[illegible]20[illegible]50[illegible][18][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Mart Laar[illegible]·[illegible]Ants Kaljurand[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Ants the Terrible[illegible]Pärnu[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][19]

[illegible]·[illegible]1949[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][20]

[illegible][21]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Iron Wolf[illegible]1945[illegible][22][illegible][23]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1945[illegible]

[illegible]

表3　游击队造成的总死亡人数（1944～1946）[24]

年份	袭击对象	西乌克兰	立陶宛	拉脱维亚	爱沙尼亚	西白俄罗斯	总数
1944	苏军*	3202	413	无数据	10	251	3876
	平民	2953	262	—	57	76	3348
1945	苏军*	2539	1614	509	175	332	5169
	平民	4249	1630	262	141	296	6578
1946	苏军*	1441	967	231	129	116	2884
	平民	1688	2037	177	125	135	4162

注：“苏军”包括苏联红军、内务部人员、警察、民兵以及当地亲苏派。

[illegible]

[illegible]1946[illegible]3[illegible]Osula[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

丛林兄弟准备按照名单杀人。他们很快意识到，名单并未包含所有他们想找的人。有些人杀红了眼，开始射杀不在名单上的妇女和孩子。有些曾经得罪丛林兄弟的政府官员，全家都未能逃脱他们的毒手。曾经，妇女们成功制止了流血。有一次，她们把游击队员从破坏营指挥官的妻子身边赶开，她们说怀孕的妇女不应该被杀害。[25]

[illegible]13[illegible]

[illegible]Alytus[illegible]1945[illegible]8[illegible]31[illegible]48[illegible]

在被杀者当中，有11个60～70岁的老人，有7个7～14岁的孩子，有6个17～20岁的女孩。所有受害者都是贫农，他们得到了（没收的）富农土地……所有被杀者都没有为政党或者其他行政机关工作的背景。[26]

[illegible][27]

[illegible]20[illegible]40[illegible]1948[illegible]7/10[illegible][28]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible][29][illegible]

[illegible]20[illegible]40[illegible]1948[illegible]5[illegible]22[illegible]27[illegible]4[illegible]3[illegible]2.9[illegible][30][illegible]4.3[illegible][31][illegible]

[illegible]1949[illegible]3.9%[illegible]5.8%[illegible]8%[illegible]1949[illegible]62%[illegible]80%[illegible]93%[illegible][32]

[illegible][33][illegible]·[illegible]1948[illegible][34]

1950[illegible]1944[illegible]1947[illegible]4[illegible]2000[illegible]1952[illegible]500[illegible][35][illegible]Punia[illegible]Kazlų Rūda[illegible][36][illegible]1956[illegible]12[illegible][37]

[illegible]

[illegible]1956[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Hawk[illegible]·[illegible]Adolfas Ramanauskas[illegible]45[illegible]1965[illegible]·[illegible]Stasys Guiga[illegible]30[illegible]1986[illegible][38]

[illegible]·[illegible]Hugo Mõttus[illegible]·[illegible]Aksel Mõttus[illegible]1967[illegible]20[illegible]1974[illegible]·[illegible]Kalev Arro[illegible]Võrumaa[illegible]4[illegible]1978[illegible]·[illegible]August Sabbe[illegible]Võhandu[illegible][39]

[illegible]20[illegible]70[illegible]·[illegible]Manuel Cortés[illegible]1969[illegible] [40] [illegible] [41]

[illegible] [42]

[illegible]20[illegible]60[illegible]70[illegible]80[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]*Partizanai*[illegible] [43] 1990[illegible] [44]

[illegible]20[illegible]80[illegible]1989[illegible] [45]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□20□□90□□□

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w.spauda.lt/voruta/kronika/chronic1.htm□accessed 17 October 2011.

[5] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Lukša□Juozas□*Forest Brothers□The Account of an anti-Soviet Lithuanian Freedom Fighter 1944-1948*□trans. Laima Vincė□Budapest and New York□Central European University Press□2009□□pp.119-21□□□http□//www.patriotai.lt/straipsnis/2009-05-22/jonas-neifalta-lakunas-1910-1945□last viewed 17 October 2011□

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[10] □□□1947□7□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□"□□"□□□□□□□□□□Statiev□Alexander□*The Soviet Counterinsurgency in the Western Borderlands*□New York□Cambridge University Press□2010□□pp.32-3□247-9□291-2□

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Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania□2000□□pp.50-51□

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Fighter 1944-1948□trans. Laima Vincė□Budapest and New York□Central European University Press□2009□□pp.385-8□

[37] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□1956□□□□□□1957□11□29□□□□□□□Gaškaitė-Žemaitienė□Nijolė□'The Partisan War in Lithuania from 1944 to 1953'□in Arvydas Anušauskas□ed.□□*The Anti-Soviet Resistance in the Baltic States*□Vilnius□Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania□2000□□p.44□

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[41] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Alexander Statiev's comparison of Lithuania and Belarus□pp.117□137-8□

[42] Vardys□V. Stanley and Judith B. Sedaitis□*Lithuania□The Rebel Nation*□Boulder□CO□Westview Press□1997□□p.84.

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[45] □□http□//www.patriotai.lt/straipsnis/2009-05-22/jonas-neifalta-lakunas-1910-1945□

[illegible]

[illegible]

1948[illegible]1[illegible]29[illegible]16[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”“[illegible]……[illegible]”[1]

[illegible]Ikaria[illegible]Trikeri[illegible]Makronisos[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1944[illegible]12[illegible]

[illegible]1946[illegible]3[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible][2]

12. 冷战期间分裂的欧洲

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1947[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”“[illegible]”“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[3][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]20[illegible]50[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Joseph McCarthy[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][4]

[illegible]20[illegible]

[illegible]30[illegible]

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[illegible]

1978[illegible]·[illegible]Georgi Markov[illegible]“[illegible]”[1][illegible]20[illegible]40[illegible]50[illegible]

民兵队长问道：“现在告诉我，你的敌人是谁？”

K思索片刻，回答道：“我确实不知道，我不认为我有任何敌人。”

民兵队长提高嗓子喊道：“没有敌人！你的意思是你不恨别人，别人也不恨你吗？”

K回答道：“据我所知，没有。”民兵中校突然喊道：“你在撒谎！”民兵中校从椅子里弹起来：“你到底是什么人，你竟然会没有任何敌人？如果你没有敌人，你肯定不属于我们的青年，你不可能是我们的公民！……如果你确实不知道如何憎恨，我们会让你学会！我们会以很快的速度让你学会！”[2]

[illegible]3500[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

1945[illegible]Lebensraum[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]5[illegible]20[illegible]40[illegible]1949[illegible]

20[illegible]50[illegible]1945[illegible]5[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Ilya Ehrenburg[illegible]·[illegible]Mikhail Sholokhov[illegible]

[illegible]1939[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]50[illegible]

[illegible]20[illegible]90[illegible]1945[illegible]

[illegible]2006[illegible]·[illegible]Hedviga Malinova[illegible]1946[illegible] [3]

[illegible]20[illegible]40[illegible]2011[illegible]·[illegible]András Schiff[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [4] [illegible]·[illegible]Zsolt Bayer[illegible]*Magyar Hírlap*[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]-[illegible]……[illegible]Orgovány[illegible]” [5]

[illegible]

□□□□□□□□□□2011□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
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□□“□□□”□□1944□□1991□□□□□□□□□25□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][8]

[illegible]

[illegible]60[illegible]“[illegible]30[illegible]40[illegible]50[illegible]……[illegible]”[9][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1940[illegible]1941[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]*Vreme*[illegible]

> 复仇还是宽恕。纪念还是遗忘。战后出现的种种挑战，并不符合上帝的公正：有太多非正义的复仇，有太多不应该的宽恕。纪念与遗忘的政策，并不服务于和平与安定。塞尔维亚人想要忘记的东西，正是克罗地亚人和波斯尼亚人想要记住的东西，反之亦然。如果交战双方同时纪念某一事件，那么，一方眼中的罪恶行径就是另一方眼中的英雄事迹。[10]

[illegible]

[illegible]200[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Łambinowice[illegible]Świętochłowice[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]6[illegible]9[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]”[illegible]5[illegible]5[illegible][11][illegible]70[illegible][12][illegible]10.5[illegible]1000[illegible][13][illegible]

[illegible]20[illegible]

[illegible]2005[illegible]1945[illegible]60[illegible]Trieste[illegible]·[illegible]Gianfranco Fini[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Silvio Berlusconi[illegible]“[illegible]20[illegible]”[14][illegible]1945[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible][15]

[illegible]2005[illegible]·[illegible]George Santayana[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]20[illegible][16]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]20[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1965[illegible]1970[illegible]-[illegible]

[illegible][17]

[1] [illegible]——[illegible]

[2] Markov□Georgi□*The Truth that Killed*□trans. Liliana Brisby□London□Weidenfeld & Nicolson□1983□□p.16.

[3] *The Economist*□13 November 2010□p.48.

[4] *Washington Post*□1 January 2011□□□□□István Deák□“Hungary□The Threat”□*New York Review of Books*□vol.58□no.7□April 2011□□pp.35-7□

[5] □□István Deák□“Hungary□The Threat”□*New York Review of Books*□vol.58□no.7□April 2011□□pp.35-7□□□□□□□1919□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□-□□□□□□□□□□□□□□.

[6] European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights□European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey□Main Results Report□Vienna□European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights□2009□□pp.9□15□167-70□available on http□//fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/eumidis_mainreport_conference-edition_en_.pdf□last viewed 12 October 2011□.

[7] Clay□Lucius D.□*Decision in Germany*□London□Heinemann□1950□□p.315.

[8] Uehling□Greta Lynn□*Beyond Memory□The Crimean Tatars’Deportation and Return*□London and New York□Palgrave Macmillan□2004□□pp.8-9.

[9] Uehling□Greta Lynn□*Beyond Memory□The Crimean Tatars’Deportation and Return*□London and New York□Palgrave Macmillan□2004□□p.10.

[10] □□□Jedlicki□Jerzy□‘Historical Memory as a Source of Conflicts in Eastern Europe’□*Communist and Post-Communist Studies*□vol. 32□no. 3□1999□□p.230□

[11] □□Jedlicki□Jerzy□‘Historical Memory as a Source of Conflicts in Eastern Europe’□*Communist and Post-Communist Studies*□vol. 32□no. 3□1999□□Chapter 18□note 19□

[12] Žerjavić□*passim*□Jurčević□Josip□*The Black Book of Communism in Croatia□The Crimes of Yugoslav Communists in Croatia in 1945*□Melbourne□Croatian Herald□2006□□p.6.□□□□Tomasevich□Jozo□*War and Revolution in Yugoslavia□Occupation and Collaboration*□Stanford University Press□2001□□p.761 and Jedlicki□Jerzy□‘Historical Memory as a Source of Conflicts in Eastern Europe’□*Communist and Post-Communist Studies*□vol. 32□no. 3□1999□□Chapter 12□

[13] □□Jedlicki□Jerzy□‘Historical Memory as a Source of Conflicts in Eastern Europe’□*Communist and Post-Communist Studies*□vol. 32□no. 3□1999□□Chapter 13□note 51□

[14] *Guardian*□11 February 2005.

[15] Morgan□Philip□*The Fall of Mussolini*□Oxford University Press□2008□□p.231.

[16] Jedlicki□Jerzy□‘Historical Memory as a Source of Conflicts in Eastern Europe’□*Communist and Post-Communist Studies*□vol. 32□no. 3□1999□□p.225.

[17] Jedlicki□Jerzy□‘Historical Memory as a Source of Conflicts in Eastern Europe’□*Communist and Post-Communist Studies*□vol. 32□no. 3□1999□□p.227.

[illegible]

[illegible]K.Blundell Trust[illegible]Joanna Pylat[illegible]Barbara Herchenreder[illegible]Kasia Piekarska[illegible]Irena Kolar[illegible]Anna Pleban[illegible]Michaela Anderlova[illegible]Martina Horackova[illegible]Dasha Conolly[illegible]Alexandra Sherley[illegible]Jennie Condell[illegible]John Conolly[illegible]Natalie[illegible]Sarah[illegible]Zsuzsi Messing[illegible]

[illegible]British Library[illegible]University College London[illegible]School of Eastern European and Slavonic Studies[illegible]Richard Butterwick[illegible]Bojan Aleksov[illegible]Imperial War Museum[illegible]Peter Hart[illegible]

[illegible]Ben Helfgott[illegible]Andrzej C.[illegible]Barbara Paleolog[illegible]Stefa Baczkowska[illegible]Hanka Piotrowska[illegible]Maria Bielicka[illegible]Marilka Ossowski[illegible]Alik Ossowski[illegible]

□Zbigniew Ogrodzinski□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
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Archiwum Państwowe□AP - State Archive□□Szczecin

Archiwum Wschodnie□Ósrodek Karta□AWK - Eastern Archive□□Warsaw

Bundesarchiv□Koblenz

Centralne Archiwum Wojskove□CAW - Central Military Archive□□Warsaw Imperial War Museum□London□Department of Documents□IWM Docs□and Sound Archives□IWM Sound□

The National Archives of the United Kingdom□TNA□formerly known as the Public Record Office□□London

Polski Ośrodek Społeczno Kulturalny□POSK - Centre for Polish Arts and Culture□□London The Sikorski Institute□London

United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration□UNRRA□archives□New York

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum□New York

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The Times

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